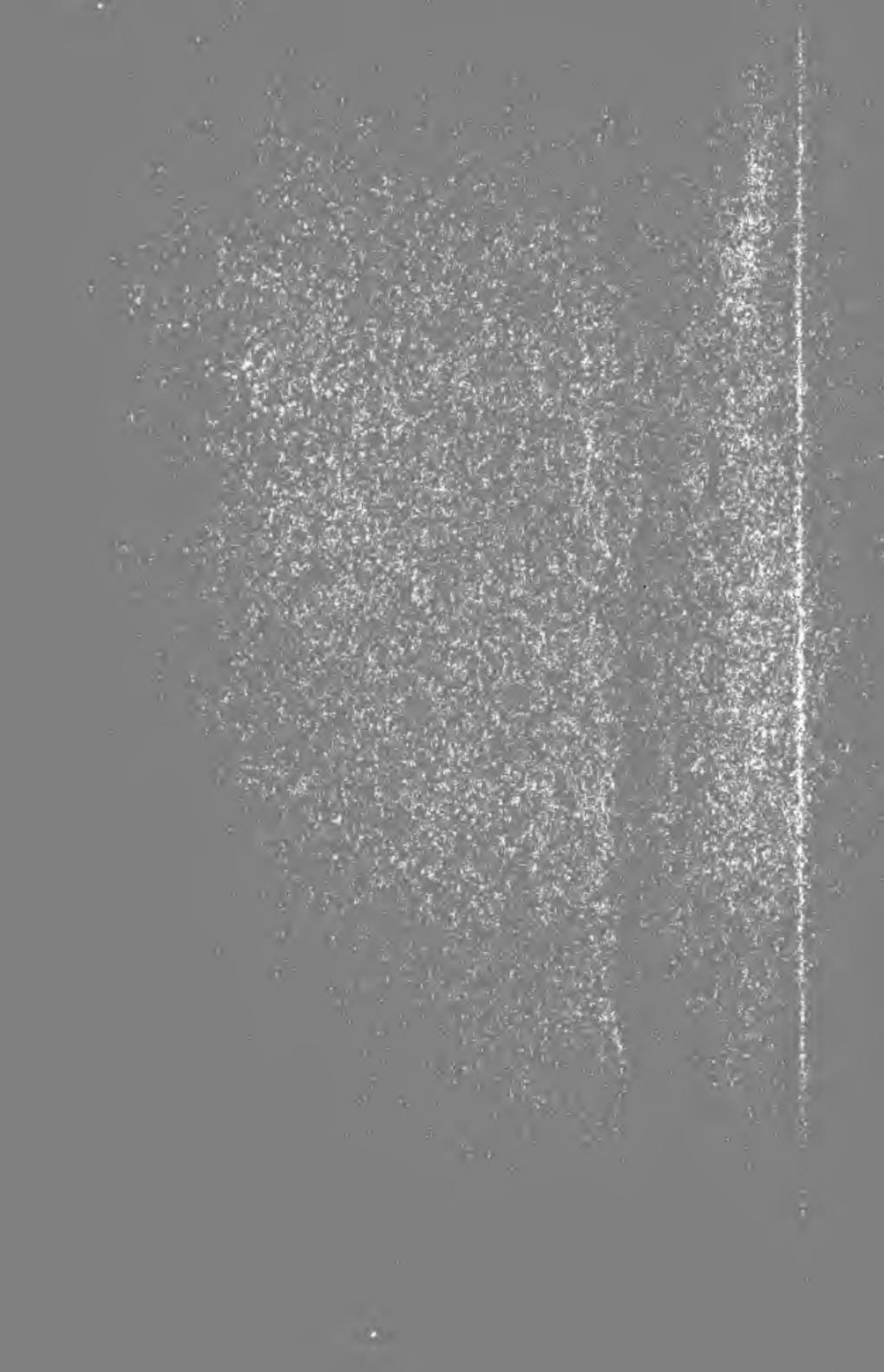


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EXERCISES IN COMMEMORATION

OF THE

BIRTHDAY

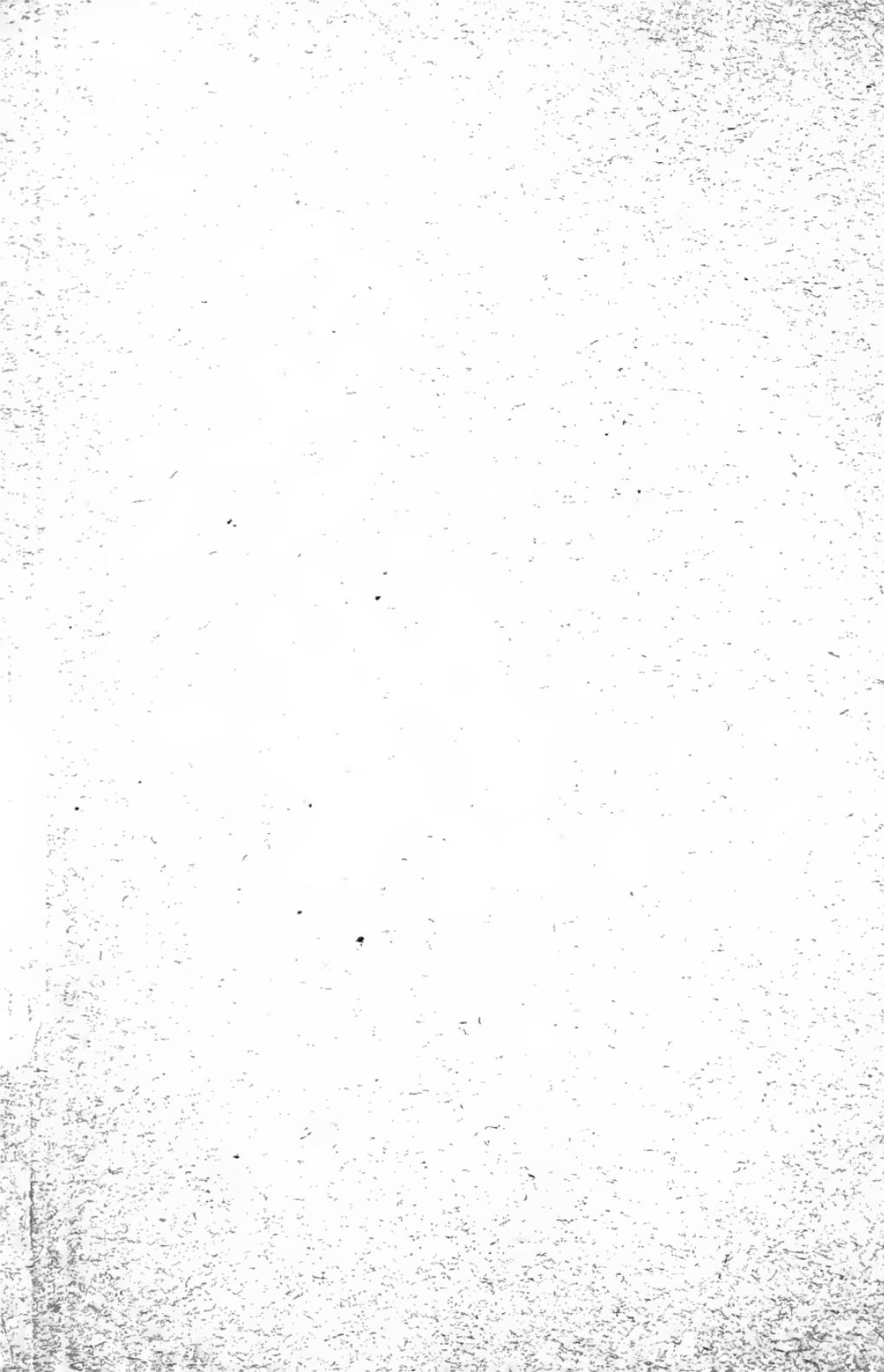
OF

WASHINGTON

February twenty-third

1903

Washington
Feb 23rd



 UNION
LEAGUE CLUB
CHICAGO

EXERCISES IN COMMEMORATION

OF THE

Birthday of Washington

FEBRUARY 23, 1903

"To inculcate a higher appreciation of the value
and sacred obligations of American citizen-
ship."—*Articles of Association.*

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MORNING EXERCISES

THE AUDITORIUM, HALF AFTER 10 O'CLOCK

DR. WILLIAM R. HARPER, PRESIDING

ORGAN VOLUNTARY

THE LORD'S PRAYER

REV. THOMAS E. SHERMAN

"COLUMBIA THE GEM OF THE OCEAN"

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

DR. WILLIAM R. HARPER

SELECTION, "PRAISE YE THE FATHER"

GOUNOD

ADDRESS

MISS JANE ADDAMS

"STAR SPANGLED BANNER"

ADDRESS

REV. THOMAS E. SHERMAN

SELECTION, "THE CLANG OF THE IRON FORGE"

ADDRESS

DR. GEORGE E. VINCENT

"AMERICA"

ORGAN POSTLUDE

MR. CLARENCE DICKINSON, ORGANIST

MR. H. W. FAIRBANK, MUSICAL DIRECTOR

Morning Exercises

The morning meeting at the Auditorium was opened at 10:40 by Dr. William R. Harper, who requested the audience to rise while Father Sherman delivered the Lord's prayer. After the invocation, "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," was sung by the audience, led by the High School choir of 300 voices, which occupied the platform, under the direction of Professor H. W. Fairbank.

Doctor Harper said:

To this magnificent assembly of young men and of young women, upon whom will soon rest the responsibility of our country's welfare, I bring this morning the cordial greetings of the Union League Club of Chicago. The only article in the creed of that club is loyalty to country, loyalty to government; and the highest purpose in the thought of the young manhood and womanhood of this country should be, I am sure all agree, loyalty to country and loyalty to government.

In midwinter, on Washington's Birthday, as in midsummer on Independence Day, we turn aside from our regular duties and devote a portion of time to the consideration of those topics which concern the interests of patriotic feelings. And it is for that purpose that we have assembled this morning to listen to words from men and women who are known to us, and at whose feet we are glad to sit. The first number on the program will be the selection, "Praise Ye the Father," by the chorus.

The selection was then rendered, the audience joining, after which Miss Jane Addams, the next speaker, was thus introduced:

"It is our great privilege this morning to hear first from a woman whom every young man and woman, and every older man and woman in this city delights to honor, Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House."

Address of Miss Jane Addams

We meet together upon these birthdays of our great men, not only to review their lives, but to revive and cherish our own patriotism. This matter is a difficult task. In the first place, we are prone to think that by merely reciting these great deeds we get a reflected glory, and that the future is secure to us because the past has been so fine.

In the second place, we are apt to think that we inherit the fine qualities of those great men, simply because we have had a common descent and are living in the same territory.

As for the latter, we know full well that the patriotism of common descent is the mere patriotism of the clan—the early patriotism of the tribe. We know that the possession of a like territory is merely an advance upon that, and that both of them are unworthy to be the patriotism of a great cosmopolitan nation whose patriotism must be large enough to obliterate racial distinction and to forget that there are such things as surveyor's lines. Then when we come to the study of great men it is easy to think only of their great deeds, and not to think enough of their spirit. What is a great man who has made his mark upon history? Every time, if we think far enough, he is a man who has looked through the confusion of the moment and has seen the moral issue involved; he is a man who has refused to have his sense of justice distorted; he has listened to his conscience until conscience becomes a trumpet call to like-minded men, so that they gather about him and together, with mutual purpose and mutual aid, they make a new period in history.

Let us assume for a moment that if we are going to make this day of advantage to us, we will have to take this definition of a great man. We will have to appeal to the present as well as to the past. We will have to rouse our national conscience as well as our national pride, and we will all have to remember that it lies with the young people of this nation whether or not

it is going to go on to a finish in any wise worthy of its beginning.

If we go back to George Washington, and ask what he would be doing were he bearing our burdens now, and facing our problems at this moment, we would, of course, have to study his life bit by bit; his life as a soldier, as a statesman, and as a simple Virginia planter.

First, as a soldier. What is it that we admire about the soldier? It certainly is not that he goes into battle; what we admire about the soldier is that he has the power of losing his own life for the life of a larger cause; that he holds his personal suffering of no account; that he flings down in the gage of battle his all, and says, "I will stand or fall with this cause." That, it seems to me, is the glorious thing we most admire, and if we are going to preserve that same spirit of the soldier, we will have to found a similar spirit in the civil life of the people, the same pride in civil warfare, the spirit of courage, and the spirit of self-surrender which lies back of this.

If we look out upon our national perspective, do we not see certainly one great menace which calls for patriotism? We see all around us a spirit of materialism—an undue emphasis put upon material possessions; an inordinate desire to win wealth; an inordinate fear of losing wealth; an inordinate desire to please those who are the possessors of wealth. Now, let us say, if we feel that this is a menace, that with all our power, with all the spirit of a soldier, we will arouse high-minded youth of this country against this spirit of materialism. We will say to-day that we will not count the opening of markets the one great field which our nation is concerned in, but that when our flag flies anywhere it shall fly for righteousness as well as for increased commercial prosperity; that we will see to it that no sin of commercial robbery shall be committed where it floats; that we shall see to it that nothing in our commercial history will not bear the most careful scrutiny and investigation; that we will restore commercial life, however complicated, to such honor and simple honesty as George Washington expressed in his business dealings.

Let us take, for a moment, George Washington as a

statesman. What was it he did, during those days when they were framing a constitution, when they were meeting together night after night, and trying to adjust the rights and privileges of every class in the community? What was it that sustained him during all those days, all those weeks, during all those months and years? It was the belief that they were founding a nation on the axiom that all men are created free and equal. What would George Washington say if he found that among us there were causes constantly operating against that equality? If he knew that any child which is thrust prematurely into industry has no chance in life with children who are preserved from that pain and sorrow; if he knew that every insanitary street, and every insanitary house, cripples a man so that he has no health and no vigor with which to carry on his life labor; if he knew that all about us are forces making against skill, making against the best manhood and womanhood, what would he say? He would say that if the spirit of equality means anything, it means like opportunity, and if we once lose like opportunity we lose the only chance we have towards equality throughout the nation.

Let us take George Washington as a citizen. What did he do when he retired from office, because he was afraid holding office any longer might bring a wrong to himself and harm to his beloved nation? We say that he went back to his plantation on the Potomac. What were his thoughts during the all too short days that he lived there? He thought of many possibilities, but, looking out over his country, did he fear that there should rise up as a crowd men who held office, not for their country's good, but for their own good? Would he not have forboded evil if he had known that among us were groups and hordes of professional politicians, who, without any blinking or without any pretense that they did otherwise, apportioned the spoils of office, and considered an independent man as a mere intruder, as a mere outsider; if he had seen that the original meaning of office-holding and the function of government had become indifferent to us, that we were not using our foresight and our conscience in order to find out this great wrong which was sapping the foundations of self-government? He would tell

us that anything which makes for better civic service, which makes for a merit system, which makes for fitness for office, is the only thing, which will tell against this wrong, and that this course is the wisest patriotism. What did he write in his last correspondence? He wrote that he felt very unhappy on the subject of slavery, that there was, to his mind, a great menace in the holding of slaves. We know that he neither bought nor sold slaves himself, and that he freed his own slaves in his will. That was a century ago. A man who a century ago could do that, would he, do you think, be indifferent now to the great questions of social maladjustment which we feel all around us? His letters breathe a yearning for a better condition for the slaves as the letters of all great men among us breathe a yearning for the better condition of the unskilled and underpaid. A wise patriotism, which will take hold of these questions by careful legal enactment, by constant and vigorous enforcement, because of the belief that if the meanest man in the republic is deprived of his rights, then every man in the republic is deprived of his rights, is the only patriotism by which public-spirited men and women, with a thoroughly aroused conscience, can worthily serve this republic. Let us say again that the lessons of great men are lost unless they re-enforce upon our minds the highest demands which we make upon ourselves; that they are lost unless they drive our sluggish wills forward in the direction of their highest ideals.

The audience then joined in singing the "Star Spangled Banner," after which Doctor Harper introduced the next speaker, Rev. Thomas E. Sherman.

Address of Rev. Thomas E. Sherman

George Washington was a great general, a great statesman and a great man. He is a great general, who, from the day that he takes command of his army, inspires them with his spirit and makes them one with him, in action, in suffering and in endurance. From the day that George Washington took command of the little revolutionary army at Boston, until the last at Yorktown, the army was one with him. Its spirit became his spirit. Its soul was his soul; and they suffered, they endured, they watched and they waited in spirit with the endurance of a mighty chief. In that great struggle which he foresaw and which consolidated the nation which he made, the war for the union, a succession of generals went to the front, full of patriotism, of talent and of training, and one by one they were retired before the difficulties of their situation. But from the day that he began, with the beginning of an army, and with the beginning of that nation, through the whole of a war twice as long as the civil war, through all its campaigns and sieges, its victories and its worst defeats, those long years of waiting and of poverty and of humiliation and of accidents, through all those years that army—and that was the core and the heart of the revolutionary movement and of the beginning of the life of this nation—that army was sustained, that army was animated, that army was held together, it was made and remade, over and over again, in and by the spirit and the genius of that mighty and that one chief.

He is a great general who with a small force does what others cannot do with a great force. At the end of those two dark years, when we had been again and again defeated, before they had got his intrepid spirit, when we were driven across the Jerseys and Long Island, falling back before the advancing and victorious British, and when all

the generals said, "Alas! In spite of this great chieftain, all is lost!" then, in the dark morning, before the dawn, when other leaders failed and other divisions would not come to the front, this man, with one division, recrossed the Delaware. What cared he for ice or snow or winter? What care had he that ten times his number were against him? This man, with two thousand ragamuffins, illy paid, illy clad, starving men, rushed into the heart of the enemy and beat them back across the Jerseys, wresting victory from defeat, relifting our banner once again. Why? Because every man of the two thousand had his spirit and his courage, and felt that George Washington was with them, and victory was sure. This it is to be a great general. And a great general is one who, with all his force and all his vigor and all his spirit, is temperate in victory, as he is undisturbed by defeat, and never stops and never attends to aught that is below the level of the true laws of war. For war is not a fight for destruction; war is a fight to demand the right, and to bring about a splendid peace, and when we had against us the most cruel and relentless foe that the world has ever seen, that foe which was looking on us like a rebel to be crushed as a worm beneath its heel, resorting to every measure that cruel hate could devise, even employing the red Indians to scalp us and tear us to pieces, George Washington never stooped to any one deed that can call the blush of shame now to the cheek of the most civilized or cultivated American lady or gentleman. To keep that temperance in the midst of such a strife and revolution and rebellion, through all those long years of exasperation and of suffering, that was to be a great general.

And as he was a great general, so also was he a great statesman. The man who rules the state in days of piping peace, the man who stands at the helm as this splendid bark sails across the waves of passion in the midst of difficulties, to save it from the rapacity of thousands of office-seekers, the man, I say, who guides the ship of state in all this, we call great. But what of the man who has no deck beneath him? What of the man who has no ship of state? What of the man who stands on the stormy shore and must lay the keelson, and must set the ribs and plank in the deck and make the ship

of state? What did George Washington find back of him when he took command of that army and became the statesman general? Thirteen scattered colonies, not yet states at all, and a weak confederation, no United States. And during these long years of war it was he who gave courage to the states to first of all declare their independence, and then to achieve it. It was he who held together those discordant elements. It was he that by being, not a Virginian, and not a Massachusetts man, and not a New Yorker, and not a Pennsylvanian, but an American, set the pace and made the beginning, and laid the keelson, and fixed the ribs, and upbuilt this glorious ship of state. That is to be a statesman, to be a maker of a state, the creator of a state, and George Washington is the maker, the creator of the United States of America.

Think how it was when the war ended. You all remember, because you young people are fresh from your histories, how victory was far more dangerous to our cause than defeat. You all remember how that army, being the one real solid power on this continent, that army being now full of the fiery enthusiastic love of this great, victorious chieftain, that army said. "We must be one; we must be united; we must have one head of our cause." Think of what a temptation that would have been to an ordinary man, to any common statesman, to any man of a mere ordinary level of greatness. Think you that when this dazzling crown was placed above the head of George Washington that he flinched, that he faltered, that he hesitated, that he felt the temptation? No. There was his real greatness as a statesman. The prize which dazzled Cæsar, which ruined Napoleon, which undid Cromwell, which would undo any ordinary statesman, was not even a temptation to George Washington, because being the man that he was, the statesman that he was, he saw that he was upbuilding the union of this mighty nation, not on the army, but on the civil power of the thirteen states, and therefore he put it by with simply a scornful remark, went quietly to his old plantation, and there, in his letters to his officers and to his army, now in dispersion, he changed every one of those thousands of men into a missionary, a missionary for a great

cause, and in those five years of the really chaotic period of our history his apostles, his missionaries, were doing the real work of the union; they were making the sentiment which was his sentiment, the thought which was his thought, so that after the constitutional convention met, and after they had adjusted all their difficulties, his hopes were realized, but realized through law and order and subordination, not through personal ambition.

And think, too, my dear young friends, oh, think of what the nation then was and how hard it was to get together those states! They had only started to enjoy sovereignty, for England, then eager for our destruction as ever, had given independence to the thirteen separate states. The old Dominion felt what it was to be a queen of the western world; Massachusetts was proud of being a great commonwealth; New York foresaw that she was to be an empire. How was he to get together, then, these thirteen young sovereigns, and make them take off their crowns and lay them at the feet of this simple sovereignty which he dreamed of and yearned and longed to make? Do not you see that this took wondrous statesmanship? And this was the statesmanship of Washington when he sat there at the head of that constitutional convention for four long weary months, listening to those long speeches and debates, which said it was impossible to adjust our differences of rights, our differences of religion, the difference of size and wealth of the states; he sat there helping to that series of compromises which our country really is. For the statesman does not do what he sees in the abstract is the best, but what he can do with the material which he has, and George Washington, by wise patience and waiting and compromise and yielding, got the states into as strong a form of government as they could be made to submit to.

As he was a great general and a great statesman and became the first President of the United States of America, so was George Washington something far higher and far nobler than either of these. He was a great man. What is it that makes a man great? Read all the encomiums of Washington. Read all the descriptions of him with which the world has been filled, and in what do they all agree? That this simple Virginian

colonel, always and everywhere, day and night, with the private soldiers and with the chiefs of a nation, with friend and with foe, in success and in defeat, always and everywhere, and to all the world, impressed on every one that might meet him, every one that came in contact with him, his immense personal dignity, a dignity which never should be or could be debased to anything that was mean or low, or tricky or underhand, a dignity which found him always the equal of great occasions, so that circumstances did not make him, but he molded circumstances. A dignity such, that when he became commander-in-chief, it sat lightly on him; a dignity such, that when foreign emissaries came with their fleets and armies, they felt that this man was not only their equal, but the equal of the sovereigns who had sent them; a dignity such, that when he became the president of the United States of America, clothed in the simple black velvet dress of that day, he lent weight to that high station, a dignity such, that he by his personal worth communicated such strength to a revolutionary movement as to take away from us from the start that contempt and that horror which all the world has of revolution and of rebellion. Oh, think about this, and think about it every day of your lives, that it was George Washington, who, by his personal character, gave dignity to our war, dignity to our government, dignity to our nation throughout the world. And as he was a man of immense personal dignity, so was he a man of absolute intrepidity and inflexibility. You must remember that a revolutionary movement is a torrent, is a tornado; men are tossed hither and yon; they do not know where they stand, or whom to trust, and they are tearing each other to pieces every day, and this man throughout it all was so untroubled that never did he flinch, never did he falter, never did he lose his self-command, and never was he deceived, never did he fail to judge character, never was he slow in checking anything like insubordination or mutiny among his troops, or cabals among his officers, or dissensions of politicians; always intrepid, always inflexible, always absolutely strong for what he saw to be right, always going straight to his purpose. Think of what a glowing example he was! Distracted by expeditions to Canada, distracted by

attacks far down in the Carolinas, distracted by the invasion on the north, and distracted in a hundred ways, and egged on by Congress to this and that and the other, with the people all impoverished, he kept ever before his mind for that seven years this purpose. The Hudson is the line that must be the bond of the north and the south; the British shall not break through on the Hudson; and therefore for seven long years that stands out as if it were a bar of steel there in his mind. His one strong hand holds that line, and, holding that line, holds the states together and so makes the war a strategic success. This intrepidity and this steadfastness, my dear friends, have led people to think this man was cold, that he was over-cautious, that he was slow, that he was dull. Oh, that man cold who, when on Monmouth day the troops came back in riot, rushed into the midst of them, and led his men to victory wrested from defeat. Was that man cold? Was that man slow? Was that man dull?

Do you remember the time when an officer came to him whom he had sent to cross a river and get him some information? Washington said, "Have you got the news?" The officer replied, "The river is full of ice." He took an ink-stand and hurled it at the man's head. "Get me a man," said he. The officer returned and crossed the ice, and went after the enemy, and came back with the information. He had made a man. This burst of passion was exceptional. It was by his splendid self-control, by having himself so well in hand that George Washington retained his power, that he is to-day the best known of Americans, because he had that splendid all around balanced character that makes a man great; prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, all around control of the baser passions.

If you wish to see the real greatness of the man contrast him, for instance, with Napoleon.

Napoleon Bonaparte was great as a general. Ah, but how was he as a man? Great, in one sense as a statesman; but how as a man? Think how Napoleon Bonaparte brought order out of chaos only to put himself at the top; Washington brought order out of chaos to retire to the life of a simple farmer. Napoleon Bonaparte reconstructed France to leave

her a legacy of a dozen revolutions, and Washington out of the fragments of a country upbuilt a nation which exists to-day. Bonaparte did great things for the sake of his own aggrandizement, trying to make his own brothers and sisters kings and queens, and make himself and his own family the rulers of Europe, and George Washington laid down the sceptre just as easily and as pleasantly as if he cared nothing for power. The power he cared for was the power in the hearts of his countrymen. Bonaparte stands out before the world as a man poor and weak and small. Why? Because he was a slave to his passions, and the slave of his ambitions; and George Washington stands out as great and grand among the heroes of the world because he was a slave to nothing but the love of his country. And therefore it is that now, after a hundred years have passed, we meet in the spirit of that patriotism which is our common heritage from him, the Father of our Country; rejoicing in the greatness and the glory of the country which he gave us to hail him as a great general, first in war; a great statesman, first in peace; a great man, first in the hearts of his countrymen.

The choir then sang:

"The Clang of the Iron Forge."

DOCTOR HARPER: I am sure you will all join with me in a word of appreciation to Mr. Fairbank and Mr. Dickinson and the members of the club for their contributions this morning.

The third message which comes to us this morning will be given to us by Dr. George E. Vincent, of Chautauqua and Chicago.

Address of Dr. George E. Vincent

When I was a small boy my heart always used to go out with gratitude to the minister who at the beginning of his sermon outlined the chief heads of his discourse. Later on these became cheering mile stones on a road which too often seemed to stretch long and hot and straight and dusty to the closing prayer. Let me follow his good example and prefix to what I have to say a brief table of contents.

We are gathered here this morning to arouse and to foster the spirit of patriotism. I want to discuss three fundamental conditions of patriotism; knowledge, wisdom and enthusiasm.

It is customary for us to regard knowledge as a very important thing, but not ordinarily to associate it with a great spirit of enthusiasm. We want to insist that the first thing for every young American is to have knowledge of the great fundamental facts of the history of his nation, and this knowledge should be of that sort which brings before his mind in vivid procession the great events, great men, great epochs of national life. We sometimes assume that the schools confer this, but we are not always justified in counting upon it. It was a young woman in a high school (not in Chicago, I am glad to say) who when asked what was the origin of domestic slavery in the United States, replied, "Domestic slavery began when, in 1619, a shipload of women landed in Virginia and became the wives of the planters." It is possible to have some control of the facts of history and yet not see in them their true significance.

Another point which I want to insist upon with regard to the knowledge which one should have of his country is this, that the knowledge should include not only those particular things which we associate with the famous men of America, but should include the great movements, the activities of the whole people, should comprehend those underlying

and fundamental facts, which, after all, are of the greatest significance to national life. War is always an attractive thing to young people. There is something spectacular about the general leading his army; and yet there is nothing that we need to learn more clearly in these days than the things Miss Addams has already insisted upon, that these striking events are not after all the most important; that they are not the fundamental things which make for national prosperity and national progress. A small boy was once asked to write the history of the world, or he undertook it on his own account. He began with Cain and Abel, and some one said, "Why didn't you begin with Adam and Eve?" He said, "Why, they didn't fight." I want to insist on another thing, and that is, no patriotic American in these days can afford not to know in a general way the history of the world and be familiar with the roles played by the great nations of to-day. To imagine that American history is a thing isolated from the great life of mankind is to take the narrow, the bigoted, the provincial view. A small boy was asked who was the first man, and he promptly replied, "George Washington." When he was reminded of Adam, he said, "Oh, if you count foreigners." Now, I am very much afraid that there has been a spirit of not counting foreigners. My young friends, if you are to be truly patriotic and ideal citizens of this great republic, you must not only have a vivid comprehension of the facts of our own history, but you must know something of other nations, respect the traditions for which they stand, and recognize them as great co-operative factors in the history of mankind.

But the mere control of facts is not enough. There must be power to evaluate those facts; there must be the ability in looking back over our national traditions to pick out the things which are significant, the things which are important, the things which are enduring, and to separate them from the things that are unessential. A small boy in this city not long ago was asked to compare two men, and he compared George Washington and his own father. He had the deadly parallel in this form: "George Washington was a tall man; my father is a short man. George

Washington could not ride a bicycle; my father can ride a bicycle. George Washington was a great man; my father is not a great man." It is probable he picked out one significant fact, but he was misled by two unessential particulars. So it is with our estimate of Washington. When you think of all the myths and traditions which have been associated with the life of Washington, all the absurd stories that have been associated with him, you can quite understand this reaction, this desire to bring Washington down to earth again. But let me point out that after all the "human" Washington is of no particular significance to us in respect to his frailties and foibles. It is in these great fundamental principles which Mr. Sherman has urged that Washington is distinguished. What if George Washington was a dandy, and if he did write letters to his tailor directing him to be particular about the buttons on his coat. These are interesting facts. We are glad to know that George Washington had some of these traits. But after all, the American lets his mind dwell on the great faith, on the noble justice and absolute fairness of the man. These are the things upon which the mind of the wise patriot dwells. More than that, as we look over our history, the wise patriot will understand that these vast movements in which we take so much pride, our industrial progress, our commercial expansion, all these tremendous economic developments, that this after all is significant only as that makes possible a higher national life. He will see that those things are a means to an end, and not an end in themselves. He is not a wise patriot who rejoices in material prosperity unless he rejoices in it because it makes possible a higher life for men and women.

And in the third place there must be enthusiasm. What is enthusiasm? It is not a mere sentimentality. A stranger visiting this country once attended a political convention where measures were being discussed with a great deal of excitement. He sat alongside a man who made a tremendous amount of noise, and finally the stranger asked this excitable individual what he thought of the matter being discussed, and this man paused long enough in his shouting to say, "Think? Think? I am not here to think; I am here to holler!"

Now, you know a great many men and women in this country imagine that patriotism consists not in reflection upon national problems, but in shouting, in following brass bands, in singing national anthems. All these things have their place, when they are an expression of true enthusiasm and true sentiment. But the young American who would be a patriot in these days, must have knowledge, must have wisdom. He must see things for himself. He must hold to his convictions, he must not be swept away by the mere shouting of the crowd. There are those who try to identify patriotism with a satisfaction in everything that is; who try to make American citizens believe that acquiescence in all that America is to-day, that this is patriotism. The wise young patriot of to-day will select his ideals, and will hold to these and will stand by them. What is it that arouses true enthusiasm? It is having clearly before the mind an ideal. Now, the sort of ideal that we Americans hold will determine the kind of sentiment which we feel. If we look back upon the past and are satisfied with it, and think that we are the most glorious and perfect nation that the world ever produced, that all the greatness is in the past, and all we have to do is to live on the virtues of our predecessors, then we shall sink into a sluggish self-complacency that will mean destruction to American progress. And if on the other hand, we are a pessimistic sort, who look back and think all the goodness is over and that now we are come on evil days and that nothing can be done about it, then we shall sink into despair. On the other hand, if we believe we are the greatest people in the world, and are going on to triumph after triumph, and though we cannot just see how, but in some vague and glorious fashion, we shall be swept on to the millenium without doing anything in particular, if we believe that, we shall have a mere vague sentimentality. Or, if our sentiment takes the form of mistaking hatred for other nations for love of our own, then we will develop into a pugnacious and arrogant people, who will be destroyed by our own pride. But if we make a reasonable valuation of our national traditions, if with an application of these ideals of the past to the problems of the present we build up for ourselves ideals of what America may be, and feel a

noble enthusiasm flooding our souls as we contemplate these ideals of the future, then, indeed, sentiment will serve its purpose.

These, then, are the conditions of patriotism, and you, as young people in the public schools of our city, having those ideals of youth, must remember that if you are to be true patriots you must study, and you should not only study, but you must ponder and value our traditions. You must build up ideals and hold these before you, while your hearts beat faster and you make firm resolve to do what you can to bring about a better state of affairs. Do not let your patriotism be of the vague and the general sort, which is revived only on occasions like this. Let your courage be steady. Do your best to translate into the ideals of the present the noble traditions of the past; do not wait until we are in war and need your services. Remember that to the City of Chicago you can be loyal; that each one of you can do something for the betterment of this community; that each one of you can discover some way in which to bring knowledge and wisdom and enthusiasm to bear. These are the ideals which we may well cherish. Let us ponder the past, form ideals for the future, and then with sentiment of the true sort, let us press on, each one in his own way, to the realizing of these dreams. Remember that after all, though grounded in wisdom, that sentiment is the unifying force in human society, for until men make love by logic, until they rear children from calculation, until policy spells patriotism, sentiment will bind men together and inspire them to noble efforts.

DR. HARPER: The exercises will be closed by the singing of the national anthem, led by the chorus. Let us all sing.

The audience then joined the choir in singing "America," after which the meeting adjourned.

AFTERNOON EXERCISES
THE AUDITORIUM, THREE O'CLOCK

ORGAN VOLUNTARY

"HAIL, COLUMBIA!"

INVOCATION

DR. FRANK CRANE

"THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER"

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

ORATION "WASHINGTON"
SENATOR GEORGE F. HOAR

"AMERICA"

MR. HERBERT L. WATEROUS, PRESIDENT
MR. CLARENCE DICKINSON, ORGANIST

Afternoon Meeting

The afternoon meeting began with the audience singing "Hail Columbia," under the leadership of Herbert Lake Waterous. After a prelude, Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft, President of the Union League Club, introduced Dr. Frank Crane, who invoked the Divine blessing in the following words:

"Let us pray. Almighty God: we recognize Thee as the author of our nation, as its conservator, and as that great power which leads us on to a glorious destiny. We believe in Thee; we believe that our fathers rightly looked to Thee for guidance, and that we now reap a part of the reward of their faith. Give us likewise a sublime conviction of co-operation with Divine providence, that our children may enter into some similiar heritage. We thank Thee, Almighty God, for our fathers, and we pray Thee that we may imitate their virtues. We thank Thee for the glorious examples that have been set us by the great men in the annals of our country, and we beseech Thee that we may never lose that spirit and disposition that shall induce us to pay honor to their memory. We thank Thee that throughout the change of conditions, throughout the alteration of our material form of national life, and of social life, through all the fluctuation of opinion in politics and in every department of human thought and activity there have persisted still the same sentiments of conscience, of honor, of truth, and of all those things which go to make a people great. We thank Thee that there are yet among us men who stand for conscience first and last. Men, not only representative of the people, but men who look first at what is right and what the great God thinks before they look to what the people want. Men, whose eyes are fixed upon principles more than upon policy. We invoke Thy Divine blessing upon this gathering this afternoon, and upon all meetings where American citizens gather to do honor to their distinguished dead. Let the spirit of liberty, of truth, of fearlessness, of righteousness dominate to us now and at all times. We ask it through Jesus Christ. Amen."

President Bancroft's Introduction

FELLOW CITIZENS: We are met for patriotic consecration. The day is thus set apart by national law, and, yet more, by our universal reverence for the character and public service of Washington. That he played a large part at a critical time, and won in war and in statecraft more for mankind than any other leader, is not the sum of his greatness; though that were enough. His superiority was so absolute that he needs not to be measured by his circumstance and time. With powers ample for the gravest needs, he ran the whole gamut of achievement. Yet, above his achievements was his personality. He had the human qualities that command admiration and affection; but there was also an heroic cast in his generous and unflinching devotion, his exalted ardor and wisdom in his country's service, that lifted him above the temptations that beset even great men in such crises. His very stature and bearing so expressed him to men's eyes that they knew him as he was, even while he lived; and his fame has never wavered. No other name has found a supreme place in the world's esteem so soon, and will hold it so long. His majestic figure dominates our history—stands at the end of its every vista—even as the Capitol rises in splendor above the avenues of the city that bears his name.

And so it is well that all Americans keep and cherish the anniversary of his birth. When, more than now, have we needed his calm judgment, courage and patience? The industrial and commercial movements of a generation seem to have culminated. The discussions of the relation of so-called capital and labor have reached a crisis, or a new phase. The forces bearing these names have so far united that every city and manufacturing community is sharply divided on this line; and all civic and political questions are involved in this strife. Yet, the division is very old, as well as inaccurate. More than two decades ago, in a political contest turning

somewhat on these issues, Gambetta declared: "There is no 'social question': there are social questions." Year by year the differences and antagonisms have been increased and exasperated by the startling contrast between the extremes of physical comfort and social advantage shared by the rich and the poor; and catch-words of class prejudice have been accepted as important truths. And this imminent division of our social and industrial fabric is complicated with the return into painful prominence of the race question. The dangers thus threatened to our commercial and political welfare are actual and serious, and they must be met. Just now, the unexpected bulk and power of these hostile "trusts" of capital and "trusts" of labor seem to have created conditions not only unknown to the fathers of the Republic, but quite beyond their forecast. The public mind is almost stunned by the very bigness of the physical elements of the problem, and ready to doubt whether our accepted principles are applicable or adequate to instant needs.

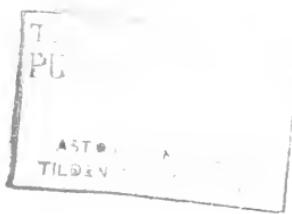
Let these considerations not appall, but sober us. Let us seek calmly the essential nature and scope of these questions. Here, as in the currency debate, we many find that quantitative theories are fallacious or misleading. Let us remember that present difficulties are but incidents of the boundless opportunities which our Republic has opened on this continent. The principles of human rights, which this government was founded to vindicate and maintain, have not lost their truth, or their power to benefit mankind, in the changed conditions. Now, as then, the social unit is the individual. His physical, mental and moral well-being and improvement are the first and last object of political concern; and no method for social betterment is approved by our experience which ignores him. All plans for amelioration must be brought to the test of justice, of equal justice to every man; and based on popular conviction. Discussion is the natural element of democracy. Its object is truth. Therefore, the expression of opinion in the press, from the pulpit and the rostrum, and in legislative halls should be absolutely free, honest and fearless. Only thus can we support "the standard," raised by Washington, "to which the wise and honest may repair."

In the light and under the inspiration of his example, let us withdraw from distracting pursuits, and here attend with mind and conscience upon the teachings of this anniversary. Let us recall, and realize for ourselves, the calm, unwavering spirit, the broad intelligence and devoted patriotism with which he met the trials of his times. To guide our thoughts in this way, Massachusetts has lent us a distinguished son. From the vantage of near half a century of exalted public service, inspired by high ideals and enriched with exhaustive scholarship, he can speak with authority and illumination. The blood of Roger Sherman and of Samuel Hoar have found new honor in his life. When Massachusetts sent the latter to South Carolina to test the validity of a law making it criminal for a free-born black to enter that state, the bitterness of Southern feeling against abolitionists put his life in constant jeopardy. When his friends warned him not to appear publicly in Charleston, he answered: "I would rather the boys should troll this old head about the streets as a foot-ball, than that I should ever hide it."

In recognition of a like spirit, we welcome his son as he speaks to us on Washington: Ladies and Gentlemen, the Honorable George F. Hoar, Senator from Massachusetts.

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SENATOR GEORGE F. HOAR

Senator Hoar

WASHINGTON.

There is no man living anywhere, with whatever honors his life may have been crowned, to whom it would not be an added honor to be invited to address this brilliant company in this famous city on this historic anniversary.

Chicago is conspicuous among the great cities of the world for many things. In two things she stands unrivalled.

Great as she is to-day, wonderful as has been her past, yet she is, beyond all other communities, the city of the future. She may well look forward with an assured and sober confidence to the time when the scepter, which passed away from Rome, shall pass away from London also, and shall be within her grasp.

Chicago is foremost among American cities, foremost, so far as I know, among the cities of the world, in the great virtue of public spirit. If we can judge by the report of her, the citizen of Chicago seems to feel, to a degree not found elsewhere, that her honor is his honor, that her prosperity is his prosperity, and that all he is and has is at her service. It is of this temper that civic greatness is born.

Yet to a people having the right that you have to be proud of their present, and looking forward, as you do, with a confident courage and hope to a great hereafter, there is a peculiar and special danger. That is the danger of Provincialism, the danger of that spirit which is impatient of the authority of the past, and of the contemporary opinion of mankind. Self-satisfaction, disregard of tradition and precedent and authority, pride in being a law to themselves, these are the besetting sins of successful and self-made men who have achieved fortune and greatness rapidly. They are likely to be the besetting sins also of cities and of States and Nations that have achieved greatness and success, as you have, with a wonderful rapidity.

So, gentlemen, it is a sign of profoundest wisdom, it is an admirable augury of happiest omen to Chicago, that this influential Society selects the birthday of George Washington for special commemoration, and means to keep his lineaments and character before her people, especially before her youth.

There is no Provincialism like the Provincialism which confines a man to his own time. There is no intellectual dullness like the intellectual dullness which comes from the contentment of an absolute self-satisfaction. There is no man and no community so certain of failure as the man or the community to which the past can speak no lesson. But, on the other hand, reverence for the past, a mind open to the lessons taught by other countries and other places, which are in some sort to all of us as a posterity, make even an Insular and Provincial nature Continental and Imperial.

It is well that such a community still makes the birthday of Washington its great anniversary. Washington, too, did his work well in his own time. He was not without proper respect for ancestry, and proper care for posterity. But he did not dwell too much on either. He was thinking always of the duty which was present and at hand. As Emerson said of him: "He was up to the top of his boots in his own meadow."

I have sometimes thought that we might improve somewhat our method of celebrating the birthdays of our heroes and statesmen. Instead of inviting some living orator, let us, as near as may be, invite the man himself to the celebration. If the people are considering some question involving the public welfare, or the fate of the republic, or what, if not the same thing, are higher and dearer yet, the honor and the conscience of the Republic, let some faithful searcher gather everything the man we would honor has left us on that subject in the way of example or of precept. If the question be whether we shall enter upon a career of foreign dominion, let us celebrate Washington's birthday by recalling what he said on that subject. If the question be what constitutes lawful reason for war; or what is the duty of good citizenship when the country is in a war in which it is wrong; or, what are the rights which belong everywhere to that being which we call

a people; or what is the line of distinction between power and right, when a strong nation has to deal with a weak one; or whether it be lawful for one people to subdue another to its will; what consent of the governed, if any, be necessary to the exercise of just powers of government; whether there can be taxation rightfully without representation; whether men may be lawfully held in a State as subjects and not citizens—would it not be well, on Abraham Lincoln's birthday, to gather everything he said on those subjects, and what he did when charged with public responsibilities? Would it not be well on Webster's birthday, to call him up to bear his testimony as in visible presence; or, on Jefferson's birthday, to hear what he had to say about it; or, on Sumner's birthday, to listen again to the counsel of that dauntless and righteous spirit? In that way the silent lips of the mighty dead will seem ever speaking their high commands to their countrymen. In that way every generation will still live, and Washington and Webster and Lincoln may still always be present on the spots with which they were familiar in life, still sitting, still deliberating, still debating.

But I will not run that risk to-day. Washington's own words, far better than my own, would be undoubtedly his most fitting memorial. But I might be thought to convey by indirection a condemnation of some thing or somebody which might be thought out of place in a celebration from which current politics are supposed to be banished.

There is one unerring test of true greatness, whether in literature, or in science, or thought, or action, or character. That is, that it seems to be contemporaneous with all the generations. The Hebrew Scriptures, the essays of Bacon, the plays of Shakespeare, Homer, and Virgil, and Dante, the character and glory of Alfred and Lincoln and Franklin, Plato and Socrates and Cicero, and the Declaration of Independence, speak to us to-day freshly, and without loss of effect by reason of remoteness of time. They would have made a like impression in the time of the Hebrew or the Greek, or the Roman Commonwealth. They will speak with like effect hereafter in all coming time to any generation that hath ears to hear.

That is conspicuously true of Washington. If you were

to read of him in Plutarch there would be no sense that he was out of place. He would still be the most perfect of Plutarch's men. If you were to read of him on the page that tells the story of Alfred, or the Bruce, or St. Louis, of France, or the greatest and best of the men of the Hebrew Commonwealth, there would be no feeling that he did not belong to his age, but only that there was a better and purer and greater Alfred, or Bruce, or St. Louis, or Hebrew Monarch. So, I believe there never will be a period in all coming time when a character like that of Washington will excite a sense of incongruity, or of antiquity, but only the natural feeling that a character of supreme excellence has been bestowed by God upon man.

It is the great good fortune of the people of America, especially of the youth of America, that we have for our National hero a character whom they can take as a model of behavior in every condition, every transaction, every occupation in life. I cannot think of any question of morality, of courtesy, or noble and elevated behavior, of expediency in the conduct of doubtful and difficult affairs, which a young man or an old man could not safely answer by asking himself and telling himself what George Washington would have done in a like case. I do not know of any other nation on earth that possesses or has possessed such a model.

I need not dwell upon the vast advantage of such an example over a mere lifeless code of general rules for the conduct of life. Indeed, it is not necessary to remind you here and in this presence that the Author of our religion has directed that mankind be taught Christian principles and Christian character by a great Exemplar. The power of the great religious orders in the great churches, a power which is among the wonders of history, is due largely to the example of the saints who founded them, or for whom they are named.

Now, in claiming for George Washington that he was an example of all excellence which the American youth may with safety take as his model of character and conduct for every condition and every transaction in life, do not let me be suspected of falling into our National habit of exaggeration. I wish to cite a few tributes from, if not hostile, at least

impartial sources of the highest authority.

There is no time to-day to cite much of the overwhelming and concurrent testimony of great Englishmen, statesmen and writers of history, and of great authoriteies on the Continent, to the primacy of George Washington among mankind. The only name likely to be thought of anywhere for parallel or comparison is that in whose glory we also have an inherited title to share—that of Alfred.

We need have no misgivings about Washington. By this time, more than a century from his death, his life at home and in public is well known. The case is all in.

"Whatever record leap to light, he never shall he shamed."

The youth of America need not depend on American authority for an estimate of this supreme and faultless character. The great historians of other countries are not behind ours in their tributes to his greatness. Earl Russell said of him:

"Without the genius of Julius Cæsar or Napoleon Bonaparte, he has a far purer fame, as his ambition was of a higher and holier nature. In modern history no man had done such great things without the soil of selfishness or the stain of a groveling ambition. Cæsar, Cromwell, Napoleon, attained a higher elevation, but the love of dominion was the spur that drove them on. John Hampden, William Russell, Algernon Sydney, may have had motives as pure, and an ambition as unstained; but they fell. To George Washington nearly alone in modern times has it been given to accomplish a wonderful revolution, and yet to remain to all future times the theme of a people's gratitude, and an example of virtuous and beneficent power."

Lord Erskine, the greatest of English advocates, inscribed one of his works to Washington, declaring, "You are the only being for whom I have an awful reverence." Charles James Fox said of him in the House of Commons, "The illustrious man before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance," and Lord Brougham, at the close of his public life, repeated the estimate he had given near the beginning of it: "Until time shall be no more, will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue

be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington." And again, at another time, Lord Brougham says, "Washington was the greatest man of our own or any age."

At another time Fox says of him: "A character of virtues so happily tempered by one another, and so wholly unalloyed with any vices as that of Washington is hardly to be found on the pages of history."

Mr. Green, the author of the history of the English people, says of him:

"No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life. Washington was grave and courteous in address; his manners were simple and unpretending; his silence and the serene calmness of his temper spoke of a perfect self-mastery. But there was little in his outer bearing to reveal the grandeur of soul which lifts his figure with all the simple majesty of an ancient statue out of the smaller passions and meaner impulses of the world around him. It was only as the weary fight went on that the colonists discovered, however slowly and imperfectly, the greatness of their leader, his clear judgment, his heroic endurance, his silence under difficulties, his calmness in the hour of danger or defeat, the patience with which he waited, the quickness and hardness with which he struck, the lofty and serene sense of duty that never swerved from its task through resentment or jealousy, that never through war or peace felt the touch of a meaner ambition, that knew no aim save that of guarding the freedom of his fellow countrymen, and no personal longing save that of returning to his own fireside when their freedom was secured. It was almost unconsciously that men learned to cling to Washington with a trust and faith such as few other men have won, and to regard him with a reverence which still hushes us in presence of his memory."

No other man uttered the best thought of Scotland as it was uttered by Robert Burns. When somebody in his presence proposed the health of Pitt, I think then Prime Minister, Burns said, "I give the health of a better man, George Washington." This was not very long after Burns had given, during the American War, the toast, "May our success in the

present war be equal to the justice of our cause."

Count Herzburg, for thirty years Frederick the Great's famous minister of foreign affairs said, that Washington surpassed men in his great virtues and qualities, even the most celebrated of antiquity.

Lord Byron's tribute is well known:

Where may the wearied eye repose
When gazing on the great,
Where neither guilty glory glows
Nor despicable state?
Yes, One, the first, the last, the best,
The Cincinnatus of the West
Whom Envy dared not hate,
Bequeathed the name of Washington,
To make men blush there was but one.

"No one who has not been in England can have a just idea of the admiration expressed among all parties for General Washington. It is a common observation that he is not only the most illustrious, but the most meritorious character that has yet appeared."

Rufus King to General Hamilton, 1797.

Mr. Gladstone said that Washington was the purest figure in history. He declares:

"If, among all the pedestals supplied by history for public characters of extraordinary nobility and purity, I saw one higher than all the rest, and if I were required, at a moment's notice, to name the fittest occupant for it, I think my choice, at any time during the last forty-five years, would have lighted, and it would now light, upon Washington."

Talleyrand said of him:

"His fame is beyond comparison with that of others."

Even China has placed in his monument a stone which declares: "Can any man of ancient or modern times fail to pronounce Washington peerless?"

I will add one other tribute of exquisite beauty, from an American source. It is from the most fastidious of critics, Fisher Ames:

"Consider for a moment, what a reputation it was; such

as no man ever before possessed by so clear a title, and in so high a degree. His fame seemed in its purity to exceed even its brightness. Office took honor from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition stood awed and darkened by his shadow. For where, through the wide earth, was the man so vain as to dispute precedence with him; or what were the honors that could make the possessor Washington's superior? Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the gross could discern in his life the infinite superiority of her rewards. Mankind perceived some change in their ideas of greatness; the splendor of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that Washington could augment his fame; but they knew and felt that the world's wealth, and its empire, too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance."

Works of Fisher Ames, Vol. 2, p. 78.

Probably no American public man of Washington's time—certainly none who deserved the name of statesman—differed so entirely in character, mental traits, and political opinion from Washington as Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson left the Cabinet of his great chief of his own accord to become the leader of the party opposed to his policies—a party which took possession of the government four years after Washington's retirement and a little more than one year after Washington's death. But Jefferson, late in his own life, when it was suggested to him that the fame of Washington might lessen with the lapse of years, looked up to the sky and answered: "Washington's fame will go on increasing until the brightest constellation in yonder heavens is called by his name."

So we have the right to say of him as the old Monk said of King Arthur:

"The Old World knows not his peer, nor will the future show us his equal; he alone towers over other kings, better than the past ones, and greater than those that are to be."

If you wish to make a study of this great man you will do well not to confine yourselves to any one biography. When you have read carefully the best lives of Washington you will have become familiar not only with the greatest human char-

acter in history, but with a historic epoch of large and enduring influence upon the destinies of mankind. Several historians of great distinction and of great variety of intellectual quality, but all of the first rank, have made the life of Washington their theme. You will do well to study them all, perhaps to study them all at the same time. When you deal with a great event, political or military, it may be well to have the narrative of it as told by each of these authors in the mind at the same time.

The first of these in the order of time, as in intellectual rank, is the life of Washington by John Marshall, the great Chief Justice of the United States. Marshall was a grave and serious-minded man, indifferent to the graces of style, or to the art by which an author entertains his readers and relieves the tediousness of a narrative without departing from sobriety and propriety. His account of Washington's early life and the military transactions of the Revolutionary War are lacking in spirit and picturesqueness, although absolutely trustworthy, as the character of the narrator would make us sure. Marshall's account of the political history of the country from the close of the Revolution to Washington's death in 1799, is that of a very great statesman and constitutional lawyer who himself had a large share in the transactions of which he has to tell. No other man who ever lived was so capable of understanding the great principles settled in that day, on which the enduring foundations of the Republic are builded. He enjoyed Washington's fullest confidences. He belonged to Washington's own state. He was a leader in the legislature of Virginia, where the struggles were almost as important as those in either House of Congress. He was one of the leaders in the Virginia convention that adopted the Constitution, a convention on whose decision the fate of the Constitution largely depended. Washington offered him a seat in his Cabinet, which he declined. He offered him the place of Envoy to France, which he declined. He was afterward a member of Congress, Secretary of State, and, as you know, Chief Justice of the United States for thirty-four years. It is hardly too much to say that but for his great judgments the Constitution of the United States could not successfully

have worked in practice as a mechanism of government. But as is commonly the case with biographies written so near the lifetime of the subject, the author had not access to a great deal of the material which afterward came to light, necessary for a perfect execution of his task.

Jared Sparks, the editor of Washington's writings in twelve volumes, and also the author of a life, is perhaps unequaled among our historic investigators in the unerring accuracy of historic judgment. He lacks grace of style, enthusiasm, spirit and imagination. But he was the most conscientious and industrious of investigators. He had access not only to Washington's own papers, but to the family papers of a great many of his contemporaries. He rummaged the national archives and those of most, if not all, of the old thirteen states, and he knew well what was important and what was unimportant. He sticks to his fact like a mathematician. What he says is true *is* true, and you need not trouble yourself to inquire further.

Washington Irving brought to his task industry, integrity, the charm of that matchless style which makes him still accounted, so far as genius is concerned, the foremost of American prose writers, or in that respect at least to share that lofty place with Hawthorne alone. Mr. Irving liked to delight and entertain as well as to instruct his readers. In his pages Washington steps down from his pedestal, and while there is nothing found which tarnishes that pure fame, the hero leaves the ranks of demigods and mingles with mortal men.

Edward Everett also has written a brief life, prepared originally for the Encyclopedia Britannica, and expanded into a small volume. You can read it in two or three hours. It will repay perusal as a good summing up of the great career of the Father of his Country, although there is nothing in it to enhance the fame either of the subject or the author. It is a pity that Lord Macaulay, on whose recommendation Mr. Everett was asked to write that memoir, could not have undertaken it himself. But if I cannot speak with enthusiasm of Mr. Everett's life of Washington, I can hardly find language to express myself, in commending to you, and to the

youth of the present generation, Mr. Everett's masterly oration upon the same theme. It is, so far as I know, and so far as I can judge, foremost among the masterpieces of eulogistic oratory in any tongue or in any generation. It was undertaken by Mr. Everett for the purpose of purchasing and preserving Mount Vernon. It was delivered and repeated in the chief cities and large towns of the country and, with the proceeds of a few other lectures and essays by Mr. Everett on kindred subjects, yielded about ninety thousand dollars of the fund of one hundred thousand required to redeem Mount Vernon. Mr. Everett sketches the intellectual and physical character of Washington, from his splendid youth, a model of manly strength and beauty, perfect in the qualities and accomplishments of the gentleman and the soldier, but wise and thoughtful beyond his years, inspiring at the outset of his career that love and confidence which are usually earned only by a long life of service, through all the acts of that mighty drama of which he was the foremost character, the observed of all eyes, the beloved of all true American hearts, shaping and wielding the destinies of his country in her great birthtime, down to his death at Mount Vernon, in his own home, the wife of his youth by his side, amid the benedictions and the sorrow of his countrymen. The story is depicted by the marvelous genius of the great artist on a canvas that shall endure as long as the fame of Washington himself. I should like to repeat to you some of the great passages from that great oration, especially the contrast between Mount Vernon, the simple dwelling place of America's illustrious hero and Father, the home of George Washington and Martha, his beloved, loving and faithful wife, and the splendor of Blenheim House, the monumental pile where the gratitude of England poured itself out in unrestrained lavishness upon her great warrior and victor; and the beautiful close where the orator conceives the fame of Washington passing from the narrow strip of territory fringing the Atlantic shore, which was all his country occupied when he died, from the Southern plains to the Western lakes, beyond the Ohio, beyond the Mississippi, along with the stupendous trail of immigration from east to west, which, bursting into states as it moved westward,

was then already threading the western prairies, swarming through the portals of the Rocky Mountains and winding down their slopes to the Pacific, and then in the prophetic imagination of the orator, traveling with the Silver Queen of heaven through sixty degrees of longitude, and not parting company with her till she walks in her brightness through the golden gate of California, and passes serenely on to hold midnight court with her Australian stars.

Mr. Everett adds that there, and only there, in barbarous archipelagoes, as yet untrodden by civilized man, the name of Washington is unknown, and there, too, when they swarm with enlightened millions new honors shall be paid with ours to his memory.

But the rich silver tones of the trumpet voice of the unequalled orator, speaking as Pericles might be conceived to have spoken to an Athenian audience in the great day of Grecian eloquence, still linger in my memory and forbid the sacrilegious attempt.

But, after all, among the elaborate biographies of Washington, the best portraiture of him in literature is the life of him by my colleague, Henry Cabot Lodge. It may be trusted thoroughly as to its facts and its judgments. A flood of light has been poured in upon the subject by the material which has been uncovered since the time of Marshall and Sparks and Irving. The memoir is full enough to tell the story of the great and important transactions of Washington's life, and still compact enough to retain its hold on the interest and attention of the reader from the beginning to the end. Mr. Lodge has a statesman's capacity to deal with and to judge of the concerns of state, the enthusiasm of an orator, the literary skill of a trained and practiced writer, and the industry of a thorough historic investigator. If you have time but for one of these biographies, I commend to you that of Mr. Lodge as, on the whole, the best, although he has to contend with such great competitors as Marshall and Sparks and Irving.

You should also make yourselves familiar, not only for a description of Washington, but as a masterpiece of splendid oratory, with the almost forgotten oration of Fisher Ames,

delivered before the Massachusetts legislature just after Washington's death. It is a tribute of exquisite beauty, from an American source. Mr. Ames was the most fastidious of judges and of critics. But he knew Washington, in whose first administration he was, although a young man and in feeble health, a great Federalist leader. His speech on Jay's Treaty ranks with that of John Marshall on the case of Jonathan Robbins, and Webster's reply to Hayne, as one of the three greatest speeches ever delivered in either House of the American Congress. It is said that that speech and the speech of Chief Justice Marshall, which I just mentioned, are the only speeches ever made in the American Congress that converted a hostile majority on a great political question on which the House was divided by party lines. Mr. Ames's thought is profound and wise as that of Burke, his style full of life and spirit, impressive and sententious like that of the Proverbs of Solomon. Image crowds upon image in the inexhaustible fertility of his mind, keeping the mind of the hearer and the reader constantly stimulated with expectation and curiosity, and creating constant surprise and delight.

I think I ought also to commend to your attention two very remarkable addresses by the late Robert C. Winthrop. He delivered the oration at the laying of the corner-stone of the Washington Monument, July 4, 1848, and again an oration in commemoration of its completion February 22, 1885, thirty-seven years thereafter. It is a curious coincidence that he associated his name forever with the beginning and the finishing of that monument, as Mr. Webster is associated by two wonderful orations with the foundation and the completion of the monument at Bunker Hill. Mr. Winthrop's addresses are in all respects worthy of comparison with those of Webster. These four orations will stand together at the very head of that department of oratory.

When you have read these lives and read also Washington's own great addresses—his farewell to the governors of the states when he laid down his commission in 1783; his farewell address when he laid down the presidency in 1797—you will have seen Washington as he was. You will see him as if you had gazed upon a photograph of his very soul.

You will know by heart the greatest man in all history; one of the very few and the greatest of the very few great men who have lived wholly for their country and not at all for themselves, and who, as a great orator says, appear in human annals "like five or six lighthouses on as many thousand miles of coast."

It was said by Richard Steele of a beautiful and accomplished Englishwoman, Lady Elizabeth Fleming, that to love her was a liberal education. If you have studied and taken into your hearts and souls the character of Washington as depicted by these great authorities, you have a liberal education in the essentials of American citizenship. You have laid the foundation in character for anything that can be demanded of you by your country in war or in peace, for soldier, statesman, citizen.

Now, in commending to you the sources by which you can possess yourself of a just conception of the great character of the Father of our Country from an original investigation, I have left little space to say anything about him from myself. But surely it is better so. What can I say which is worth saying upon such a theme? Washington died one hundred and four years ago next December. From that day to this his life and his praise have been the theme of oratory and poetry the country through, on every recurring anniversary of his birthday which, like the birthday of the country itself, is one of our two great national holidays.

The designer of the noble shaft which towers above the city which bears his name has with rare felicity designed that emblem of the simple and majestic character of Washington. There is no ornament or sculpture or delicate carving to attract or fascinate the eye. Simplicity, grandeur, just proportion, strength, endurance, are its characteristics, as they were his characteristics. It must ever take a high rank among great and majestic public works. In a clear morning, when the sky is full of light or some delicate cloud moves over its summit, far above the streets and towers and spires of the city, its shining point suggests the lines of the Englishman, Doctor Aiken, written while Washington was yet living:

Point of that pyramid, whose solid base
Rests firmly founded in a Nation's trust,
Which, while the gorgeous palace sinks in dust,
Shall stand sublime, and fill its ample space.

Think how poor were Washington's resources! During a large part of the time when he was besieging the British army in Boston, he had scarcely powder enough to fire a salute. His few cannon had been dragged by oxen across New England from Ticonderoga. He had no money to pay his soldiers; no drill officers to teach his raw recruits military discipline; no military text-books for his engineers. His life was almost a solitude amid the jealousies and strifes which existed in that day, in quite as large degree as now, among his generals and officers, and (what has happily passed by now) among the troops of the different colonies. The inexhaustible pecuniary resources of England promised an inexhaustible supply of troops, native or mercenary. His great antagonists had the support of a powerful navy. I would not undervalue the navy of the revolution, whose great service to the cause of independence has been so much overlooked. Indeed, it is doubtful whether without it the war for liberty could have been brought to a successful close. But its chief service was in destroying English commerce and not as an aid to our military operations. So in the time of framing the Constitution and in administering the government for the first eight years, Washington had nowhere to look either for example or for instruction. All the paths he trod had to be broken out by himself and his great companions and associates. We who find our path broken, macadamized, leveled, blazed by the sure and safe precedents of 125 years can hardly understand the difficulties which beset Washington. And yet, in his whole life, from the time when but a youth of twenty-four, he gave his wise but vain counsel to General Braddock, and brought home all the laurels of that most disastrous expedition, to the time when, full of years and honors, he left to his countrymen his farewell address—that almost inspired political Bible, the adherence to which ever has brought and ever will bring to us safety, prosperity, and glory, the departure from which is the path to danger, ruin and shame—he

never made a mistake and never gave unwise counsel to his countrymen.

There are some characters, unhappily few, of whom we never think as struggling with or conquering temptation. Sin did not beset them. I suppose this was never yet literally and perfectly true of any man or woman. Yet it was as nearly true of George Washington as of any man or woman. Integrity, unselfish and unambitious service, industry that sought no repose while it remained to be done, unhesitating self-sacrifice, purity not only unsullied but untempted, were all his. The temptation to evil never seems to have beset that lofty nature, nor besieged that impregnable fortress. The Devil is an ass. But he never was such an ass as to waste his time tempting George Washington.

Washington's style, in general, is somewhat artificial, with a little tendency on ordinary occasions to the somewhat inflated, latinized diction of which Doctor Johnson had set the fashion in his time. But he rises often, when he forgets the language and is intent on the thought, into a noble and vigorous speech. Some of the best examples of good English are to be found in the untutored speech and writing of boys. Washington compiled or copied or composed, in early youth, a series of rules of behavior in company and conversation which ends with a maxim certainly not to be improved upon either in style or substance: "Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire—conscience."

Mr. Winthrop, with that *curiosa felicitas* both of thought and phrase, for which he is unsurpassed among the orators of the generation which has just left the stage, said in his last great public address, speaking to the youth of the country: "Keep ever in your mind and before your mind's eye the loftiest standard of character. Strive to approximate that lofty standard, and measure your integrity and your patriotism by your nearness to it or your departure from it. The prime meridian of universal longitude on sea or land may be at Greenwich or at Paris or where you will. The prime meridian of pure, disinterested, patriotic, exalted human character, will be marked forever by yonder Washington obelisk."

Washington's virtues were the corner-stone virtues.

They were the virtues which lie at the foundation of all civil society as well as of noble individual character. It is not these which commonly excite the imagination or strike the fancy. It is not these which delight audiences in the portrayal. Poets celebrate the beauty of the morning, the Assyrian sunrise and the Paphian sunset, the fragrance of the rose, the verdure of the grass, the softness of the gale. They do not write odes to gravitation or to mathematics, or to order, or to the great laws which preserve health. So we do not find that veracity, judgment, prudence, disinterestedness, justice, sobriety, stir the blood and quicken the pulse when we talk of them. But they are the virtues to which human life owes its safety and human society its civilization.

I would say it in all reverence (surely we have a right to say it), if it be true that God has made man in his own image, and if it be true that divinity has come to the earth to be an example to humanity, then it is not impious for us to claim that humanity has sometimes attained something of the divine image in which it was created, and has been able to copy the divine Example to imitate which it is invited. The virtues of Washington are the virtues which we ascribe in our humble, imperfect and faraway conception to divinity.

Think of his absolute veracity! He conducted with his own hand a vast correspondence, enough to tax to its uttermost the strength of mind and brain and body of an athlete even if he had had to bear no other burden of public care. His published correspondence fills many large volumes, and there is a great deal, I suppose, still unpublished. But there is not a trace of duplicity, of concealment, of saying one thing to one man and another to another, of assurances of respect or goodwill that do not come from the heart, such as, I am sorry to say, disfigure the correspondence of some of his famous and honored cotemporaries. The little fable invented by Weems, his enthusiastic biographer, has become the standing jest of many a generation of irreverent boys. But nobody ever doubted or ever will doubt that George Washington could not tell a lie, could not act a lie, could not think a lie; that a lie could not live in his presence, or that all falsehood and dissimulation would slink abashed and confounded from the

gaze of those pure eyes and from that perfect witness.

"I do not remember, said Washington in 1786, that in the course of my life I ever forfeited my word, or broke a promise made to any one."

I never say anything of a man that I have the smallest scruple of saying to him.

This virtue of absolute veracity deserves to rank highest among those which our humanity can attain. Men of all civilized nations pay an unconscious tribute to it when they resent the imputation of falsehood as even a greater affront than the charge of cowardice. In deed falsehood is the very essence of cowardice. The man who lies, lies, usually, because he is afraid to tell the truth, because he does not dare to stand by his action or his thought. The great nations of history, the great characters of history, are those who are most famed for the supreme virtue of truth. The only heroes of the nation from whom we derive our own lineage, who deserve to be named in the same day with Washington are the Englishman, King Alfred, and the Irishman, the Duke of Wellington. King Alfred was called "the truth teller." Wellington was called the truth lover.

"Truth-teller was our England's Alfred named.

Truth-lover was our English Duke."

He had a weighing and balancing mind. His intellect was like a pair of accurately adjusted scales. He did not often, especially in civil affairs, originate the policies upon which he acted. But he listened carefully and patiently to every counsel from which he could get instruction, and then brought it in the end to the sure test of his own unerring judgment. He weighed the advice of his great counsellors, the claims of contending parties, and of Jefferson and Hamilton and Adams and Pickering, in a balance as infallible as the golden scales which the Eternal hung forth in Heaven,

"Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign,"

in which, according to Milton, the arch-rebel read and knew his fate.

There are young men before me who I am sure aspire to take hereafter an honorable part in the service of the country. You have not received the priceless advantage and bless-

ing of American citizenship as beggars or mendicants who receive a benefit which they never return. What your country has given you you mean to return again to her. You mean in the simple language of the oath taken by the humblest official, "to defend her against all enemies, foreign or domestic." The foreign enemy is not likely to put your manhood to any severe proof, or it will be a proof of your physical courage alone. The enemy that will demand your moral courage for the encounter is the domestic enemy. He will appear under many names, in various guise. But the unerring test by which you will detect him will be by comparing his principles, purposes and character with those of George Washington. If any man tell you that the counsels of George Washington have grown musty and rusty; that they are not for large nations, but only for little ones; that, as a great newspaper said the other day, a man who is now in the company of George Washington is in bad company, because his policies and counsels were bad for the American of the present day—mark and distrust that man as the domestic enemy of your country. He may be sincere; he may be misguided; he may be carried away by a spasm of popular excitement; he may be obeying the behest of party. But, none the less, indeed all the more for that, is he the dangerous enemy of the peace and prosperity of the United States.

Mr. Everett's great oration, of which I spoke just now, was delivered in the few years preceding 1860, when the angry threatenings of civil war and disunion were heard all round our national horizon. Mr. Everett called upon his countrymen, as it seemed for a time, in vain, to forget, to turn a deaf ear to these unpatriotic counsels, to this mad cry of treason and disunion, and return once more to the patriotic counsel of Washington. It seemed, for a time, as if the appeal were unheeded. But the spasm of popular madness and rage passed by, and Washington resumed his place again as our supreme counsellor and leader. He became once more the example and idol of every American soldier and statesman, and the Farewell Address became once again the political Bible of every American. Doubt not that this shall happen again and again. Other temptations will come to us and

party spirit, like Satan sitting at the ear of Eve, will speak again its baleful counsel in the ear of the people. Popular excitement will be kindled by the lust of empire and passion for conquest. The eyes of the people may be dazzled for a time by a false and tinsel military glory. But while the portrait of Washington hangs in every village; while his statutes adorn our chief cities; while his monument is found in every State; while his life is on the shelf of every home; while the detail of his great career is studied in every university; while his image is in the heart of every youth, the people will come back again to the wise, sober and just counsel in following which lies the path to a true glory and a true safety. The American people will never long go astray so long as to every great question of national policy or national duty they know what Washington would have said, and know what Washington did say.

If any man would test, as with a touch-stone, any party or political war-cry of to-day, let him think before he grow too enthusiastic if he can imagine George Washington uttering it. If he can, he is safe enough to utter it himself. If he cannot, he had better try to find another.

Who ever thinks of George Washington as stopping to consider popularity or public sentiment or political or personal advantage to himself by pleasing the people when he had to determine a question of duty? He was as unmoved by the breeze of popular opinion as the summit of the mountain that bears his name. It is for that reason that the reverence in which his countrymen hold him is as enduring and as unshaken as the mountain summit.

I am no blind worshiper of the Past. I do not believe that Renown and Grace are dead. I am no pessimist or alarmist. I am certainly no misanthropist. While there are many men who have served their country better in their generation than I have in mine, I yield to no man in love for the Republic, or in pride in my country, and in my countrymen who are making to-day her honorable history. We may err in our day. Our fathers erred in theirs. Yet our generation is better than those who went before it. The coming generations will be better than we are. The Republic where every man

has his share in the Government is better than the Monarchy, or the Oligarchy, or the Aristocracy. Our Republic is better than any other Republic. To-day is better than yesterday, and to-morrow will be better than to-day. But while each generation has its own virtues, each generation has its own dangers, and its own mistakes, and its own shortcomings.

The difference between the generations of any country with a history is commonly not one of principle, but of emphasis. The doctrine of 1776, when we won our independence, planted our country on the eternal principles of equality of individuals and of nations in political rights, and declared that no man and no people had the right to judge of the fitness of any other for self-government. In 1787 the Constitution was builded on the doctrine that there were domains within which the Government had no right to enter, and that there were powers which the people would not commit to any authority, State or National. The doctrine of 1861 and the years which followed, declared the natural right of every man to his own freedom, whatever might be his race or color; and the natural right of every man to make his dwelling wherever on the face of the earth he might think fit. These truths will, perhaps, be accepted to-day as generally as they were accepted then. But if accepted at all they are accepted by the intellect only, and not by the heart. They are not much talked about, except to ridicule them, to refine about them, or to find some plausible reason why they should not be applied.

The orator of to-day puts his emphasis on Glory, on Empire, on Power, on Wealth. We live under, and love, and we still shed our heart's blood for the same flag which floated over our fathers, and for which they were ready to die. But it sometimes seems that the flag has a different meaning, whether it float over the Capitol or the ship of war, or the regiment on the march, or the public assembly. We no longer speak of it, except coldly and formally, as the symbol of Liberty; but only as the symbol of power, or of a false, cheap, tinsel glory.

I think the popular reverence for Washington, and Lincoln, and for Sumner, and for Webster, is not abated. But yet few political speakers quote to-day the great sentences

which made them so famous, or the great principles to which they devoted their lives.

While, as I said, I have a profound respect for the opinion of my countrymen, it is not for that opinion formed in excitement or in haste or under pressure of political necessity. It is for the opinion formed, as Washington formed his, soberly, quietly, calmly, through sober, second thought.

There is scarcely a shabby or sorry story of any country, certainly in the history of free nations, which is not a story of a popular delusion in which for a time nearly the whole community shared. The martyrdom of Socrates, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the persecution which drove the Pilgrims to Ledyen, the witchcraft delusion, the compromise measures, the brief rise and spread of Know-Nothingism, all represent completely the desire of the people for the time being.

There have been many such delusions in the history of the American people. But, so far, the American people have outgrown them, have repented of them, and have atoned for them. Indeed we can hardly lament that they have happened, when we think that if they had not happened the sublime repentance and atonement also would not have happened. We may lament the long and gloomy and terrible years of Slavery and of Rebellion; and yet without Slavery and Rebellion we should have never known the heroism of the American people, or the quality of our splendid youth of 1861. We cannot explain why it is that an omnipotent and benignant Providence has suffered evil to exist in the universe He has created. But at least this is true. Without evil there could have been no virtue; without the possibility of sin, there could have been no possibility of righteousness; without the Athenian mob, there could have been no Socrates; without George III and Lord North, there could have been no Washington; without Slavery and Rebellion, there could have been no Lincoln.

Another lesson the Republic may learn from Washington is its sensitiveness to the individual touch. I do not think that it would be true if I were to say that the moral power of a single will and a single character is as strong in a popular Government as in a Monarchy or a Despotism. But I am

sometimes tempted to say so when I think of the many instances where the whole current of our history has been turned by one man.

I should like, if I had time, to give a great many examples, easily to be found, where the fate of a nation, and many more where the fate of a generation has depended upon the will and the purpose and the character of a single individual. Many of Washington's contemporaries believed that but for the confidence felt in him the conflict with England could not have been maintained. Mr. Jefferson, I think it was, said later: "We can all hang together, so long as we have you to hang to." It does not seem likely that the great political revolution which overthrew the Federal party after its twelve years of power, could have been accomplished but for the individual skill of Jefferson. I suppose most lawyers agree that but for the interpretation of the Constitution, supported by the great Judge Marshall, and carried into effect by his authority, the mechanism of our Constitution would have failed. The spot where I am now speaking would, in my opinion, as I think can be clearly established, have been at this moment part of a great slave-holding Empire but for the far-reaching sagacity and untiring energy of Rufus Putnam, the founder and father of Ohio, who put a new life into the dead Ordinance which consecrated this region to religion, education, and Liberty, and himself led the first colony down the Ohio to Marietta. There have been in our own day great measures pregnant with history, and with the fate of parties, won or lost by a single vote.

Washington is by no means the only conspicuous example in history, God be thanked, of a man whose public conduct was determined absolutely by the sense of duty. But he is the most conspicuous and lofty example. He is the best example of absolute conscientiousness accompanied by unerring wisdom in a place of power, where his action determined the fate of a nation, and was successful in achieving the most fortunate results.

The fate of the nation depends in the last resort on individual character. Everything in human government, like everything in individual conduct, depends, in the end, upon

the sense of duty. Whatever safeguards may be established, however complicated or well adjusted the mechanism, you come to a place somewhere where safety depends upon somebody having the will to do right when it is in his power and may be his interest to do wrong. When the people were considering the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, one of our wisest statesmen said that the real and only security for a Republic is when the rulers have the same interest as the people. If they have not, constitutional restraints will break down somewhere, except for the sense of duty of the rulers.

All elections depend upon this principle. You may multiply election officers and returning boards, you may provide for an appeal to courts of first resort or last resort. But in the end you must come somewhere to a point where the sense of public duty is stronger than party spirit, or your election is but a sort of fighting, or, if not that, a sort of cheating. The same thing is true of the individual voter, or of the legislator who is to elect the Senator, or the governor who is to appoint the judge, or the executive officer, or the judge who is to interpret the Constitution or the statute and decide the cause, or the juror who is to find the fact. On these men depend the safety and the permanence of the Republic. On these men depend life, liberty, and property. And yet each of them has to make that choice. Each has to decide whether he will be influenced by ambition or by party spirit or the desire for popular favor or the fear of popular disfavor or the love of money, on the one side, or by the sense of duty on the other.

So, in the last resort, the destiny of the Republic, like the destiny of the individual (and, in the case of an individual, character, and destiny are the same thing), depends upon individual will. Will the individual will choose what is right and not what is wrong? Now this choice is largely affected by what we call strength of will; by that habit of the soul which enables man to adhere to its deliberate purposes and principles, formed when reason is unaffected by passion or by desire, against the pressure and excitement of an immediate demand; that character of will which, as Wordsworth says in

his "Happy Warrior"—

"in the heat of conflict keeps the law
In calmness made, and sees what it foresaw."

The great single purpose of moral education, must be to induce the will to adhere to its general, permanent and deliberately conceived purpose, in spite of the motives which appeal to it with special strength at the time of the choice or action. In other words, to give a strength to resolution which will overcome the strength of temptation.

Of course, the first and perhaps the greatest thing to be accomplished is to get habit upon the side of virtue. "Happy is the man whose habits are his friends." To Washington no duty, however obscure, was unimportant, and no deviation from duty, however trifling, was possible.

I said just now, quoting from a great orator, that a few great men who have lived wholly for their country and not at all for themselves, and who alone can be thought of for comparison with Washington, appear in human annals like five or six lighthouses on as many thousand miles of coast. Even to complete that list men must go to Roman or Grecian story, where you cannot verify the record. How much of their glory Plutarch's characters owe to Plutarch, no critic can tell you to-day.

All the great men of antiquity, who in the boldest imagination might be compared with Washington, failed in accomplishing their desire for their country. Epaminondas died in battle. Socrates died by public sentence. Aristides was ostracized and banished. Cato died a suicide and an exile. The destruction of the Republic he served speedily followed the death of each.

In later times Wellington was the instrument of saving Europe from the ambition of Napoleon. He was a high example of sincerity and strength and unselfishness in peace. But he had at his command the resources of a great Empire, and the indomitable English military spirit, indomitable from the beginning of her history save by the power which Washington organized and led. No man can doubt that with Wellington's resources Washington could have accomplished

Wellington's results. No one can say that with Washington's resources Wellington could have accomplished the results of Washington.

But his achievement in war is the least of Washington's title to glory. Through his influence a great Republic was constructed and inaugurated on principles unknown, until his time, to history. He laid the foundation of our Empire not on military strength, but on Liberty and Law. The Constitution framed by the Convention over which he presided, which would not have been adopted but for his influence, and which he inaugurated, was a new and untried experiment, without either example or model in human history. Wellington, on the other hand, was a defender of the existing order of things. Many an abuse and injustice was prolonged through his influence.

No American, I think no lover of virtue anywhere, would seek to diminish or to darken the glory of Alfred, that "King to Justice dear"—

"Mirror of Princes, indigent renown
Might search the starry ether for a crown
Equal to his deserts."

The glory of Alfred is ours also. The laws he gave have come down to us. We are of the blood and lineage of the country where for more than a thousand years the descendants of the great Saxon have occupied the throne. We have certainly no desire to cultivate that temper which, whenever goodness or greatness anywhere be mentioned, is eager always to declare that something or somebody else is better. But the witnesses whom we have cited, who declared Washington's primacy among mankind, are English witnesses of the highest title to be believed. Not one of them has given his judgment without considering the name of King Alfred.

We may concede to King Alfred perhaps an integrity and an unselfish devotion to his country unsurpassed even by that of Washington himself. But it is to be remembered that the difficult task of rallying the people of England to the expulsion of a band of piratic invaders, was far less than of sustaining a civilized warfare for eight years against the fleets and armies and inexhaustible treasure of Great Britain. When

Alfred won his throne he gained a kingly power. He had a kingly power at his command. He had not, as Washington had, to reconcile hostile factions, to bring into accord jealous and rival States, to inaugurate a Government, the like of which was to that time unknown to the experience of mankind. We cannot only believe, we can be sure that in Alfred's place Washington would have accomplished everything that Alfred did. No man can be sure that in Washington's place Alfred would have been able to accomplish what Washington did.

One figure remains, and one alone, who in the opinion of mankind may share with Washington his lofty pinnacle. His is an American name also; a name among the priceless treasures of the great State within whose borders we come together.

Never were two men more unlike in every lineament that made up their mental and physical portraiture than George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. They seemed to come to the same high place from opposite quarters and by diverse paths. Washington, with his quiet and grave manner, with his seriousness, his earnestness, with the stately beauty and dignity of his person and behavior, has been claimed by Englishmen as an admirable example of an Englishman. The awkward and ungainly Lincoln, with his wit and his jesting and his homely proverbs, his stories as pithy and to the point as the fables of Aesop, his shrewd management of men, his tenderness, his knowledge of human nature in every variety and condition, was, if ever man was a typical American. Washington was a born Aristocrat, who had learned by the experience of life the justice and the beauty of Democracy. Lincoln was the child of the people, who had learned by the experience of life the value of order and strong Government.

“His was no lonely mountain peak of mind
Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,
A sea-mark now, now lost in vapors blind;
Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,
Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,
Yet also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars,
Nothing of Europe here,
Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still,

Ere any names of Serf and Peer
Could Nature's equal scheme deface
And Thwart her genial will;

He knew to abide his time,
And can his fame abide
Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
Till the wise years decide."

Washington had little poetry or imagination in him. He accepted and lived by the simplest maxims of morals and duty. He did not seem to care for the great things in literature or poetry. You do not find him quoting the noble sentences of the Declaration, although he did so much to make it real. Lincoln was an idealist. He was penetrated to the very depths of his soul with those eternal idealities. They moved and stirred him like a note of lofty music. But yet to his mind they were as real and practical and undoubted as the multiplication table, or the Ten Commandments. No Republic could live long or deserve to live long, that was not founded on them. He declared on that fateful journey to Washington, on his way to be inaugurated, that he was willing to be assassinated, if need be, for the doctrine that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no man, and no people, had the right to judge of the fitness for self-government of any other. And he was assassinated for it.

Each of these men embodied what was best in his countrymen in his generation. Each was the first citizen among a people who were like him. Each wrought in accord with his time. Washington more than any other man was the creator of a nation, of which Lincoln, more than any other man, was the Saviour. It will be for a later generation, not for us who remember Lincoln, to assign the precedence to either. Of one thing we may be sure, knowing the modesty so characteristic of both, that each, were he consulted, would yield the palm to the other.

Washington was a good neighbor and friend, hospitable and charitable. He loved his mother and his wife and his kindred. He had companions and counsellors and correspondents. And yet, and yet, in spite of it all, he seems

to me with his austere sense of duty and his freedom from all disturbing influences and attractions, to have dwelt in a solitude—

“Like as a ship, that through the ocean wide,
By conduct of some star doth make her way.”

But after all, Washington has but one lesson for us; one lesson for the country; one lesson for each of his countrymen. It is the old lesson, older than history, old as Creation. That is that Justice, Veracity, Unselfishness, Character, lie at the foundation of all National and all Individual Greatness. Justice and Freedom are the Parents of Fate. To the larger and surer vision there is no such thing as Fortune. Where these are we have no need to concern ourselves with what the day may bring forth. The product of the eternities will be secure. The cosmic results will be the same, whatever the daily event may be. It is to this that the story of George Washington is a perpetual witness to his countrymen. It will be their fault, if they do not make their country its perpetual witness to mankind.

ANNUAL BANQUET
AT THE CLUB HOUSE

THE ORATOR OF THE DAY

THE PRESIDENT

RESPONSE

HONORABLE GEORGE F. HOAR

NATIONAL SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS AND
NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

RT. REV. THOMAS F. GAILOR

WASHINGTON'S TIME AND OUR OWN:
CONTRASTS AND RESEMBLANCES

DR. CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT

THREE CHARACTERISTIC MEN

DR. FRANK W. GUNSAULUS

Introduction

The seventeenth annual banquet was held in the dining room of the club at seven o'clock.

A pleasant surprise was given to the guests shortly after arriving at the banquet room, which was decorated with festoons and the National Emblem, together with a portrait of George Washington: the band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner," and simultaneously the flags and festoons and the portrait of Washington were illuminated.

After dinner the speech-making of the evening was introduced with the following remarks by the Toastmaster:

PRESIDENT BANCROFT: In this our seventeenth celebration of the anniversary of Washington's birth, I think that the traditions of the Union League Club have been maintained so far as the exercises of the day and night have progressed. As heretofore, our purpose has been single: to draw the attention of the present people and of the more potent future people—the youth of our public schools—to the meaning of patriotism and of republican institutions. This afternoon the best traditions of the Club were realized in the noble address, scholarly and patriotic, of our guest.

Many years ago Emerson said that great materialities were only to be overcome by great personalities.

We felt we were in the presence of a great personality, great in all the attributes of American manhood and statesmanship. As we listened, we could not but recall the line of great men who have represented the commonwealth of Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States, a line which has suffered no diminution in its senior Senator. Gentlemen, I propose the health of the orator of the day.

The toast having been honored, Mr. Bancroft continued:

May he live to perform still further unselfish and courageous service not only for his constituency but for the people of the whole country.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Union League Club: I feel as if I were a man deficient in frankness, keeping a guilty secret, when I listen without contradicting it, to such an introduction as the President has given me. I am touched by the kindly welcome, though if I were to tell you all I know about the person he has spoken of, I should be obliged to leave you in a sadly different frame of mind. A good old friend of mine was re-elected to the Senate some time ago, and welcomed by his Legislature. The gentleman who presented him said some of the things which your kind President has said about me. He began his reply by saying, "There is a Greek Maxim, 'Know thyself,' but there isn't any maxim that requires you to tell other folks all you know on that subject."

It has been my good fortune to visit Chicago several times, yet always when her people were in a very serious frame of mind, unless I except the time I came, not to Chicago, but to the World's Fair, to Aladdin's Palace in which there was no unfinished window. I have been here four times—three times when the great and solemn responsibility of nominating a candidate for the Presidency was occupying the mind of the people gathered here; and now to-day, when, on this great National anniversary, you are giving yourselves up to thinking of the character and quality of Washington. I do not know that there is any other Nation that has such National birthdays, such National holidays, given up wholly to the things that be of the spirit. Forefathers' Day, the Fourth of July, the Birthday of Washington, the Birthday of Lincoln—there is no other Nation on the globe that has such things to celebrate. While they are kept as you have kept this day and as you keep the other days that are like it, I do not think there is much danger that the American spirit will die out, or that the American Republic will degenerate.

I suppose everybody is a little inclined to attribute to

Washington the excellencies which he or she has been taught to think the highest in human character. Everybody who has formed a conception, not perhaps of what he himself is, but of what he ought to be, has attempted to clothe Washington with those attributes. I know of an excellent old lady who was not very well off in this world's goods who was asked what sort of a person she thought Washington to be, and she said, she thought he was a person who would be willing to lend a neighbor anything he had. My old friend, Professor Gallaudet, of the Deaf and Dumb College in Washington, told me some twelve or fifteen years ago, a very pathetic story which I think may be well applied to a great many gentlemen who have political crotchets or peculiar notions in their heads and who fancy that, of course, Washington would be on their side, if he were alive. He had a little boy in his institution between five and six years old, a little deaf and dumb fellow, very precocious, and the doctor liked very much to talk to him, and he liked to talk to Dr. Gallaudet. One day the doctor asked him if he knew the story of George Washington and the hatchet. The little fellow said he did. "Well," said the doctor, "won't you tell me?" So he began to spell off on his fingers and when he came to the right place in the story, he said, "He took the hatchet in his left hand and he said to his father,"— The doctor interrupted him: "What did he take the hatchet in his left hand for?" "Why, he wanted his right to tell him with."

But I suppose we shall have always to be defending the character, and the opinion, and the principles of Washington and Lincoln, and of the Fourth of July, and of the Fore-fathers' Day and the Declaration of Independence, against somebody who, under some temptation, will be ready to assail them. I mentioned this afternoon that a great paper had said that a man who would be in General Washington's company now would be in very bad company, because the counsel which he gave his countrymen when he was alive would be very bad for his countrymen now. And I see that my excellent friend, Mr. Root, Secretary of War,—if he be correctly reported—thinks something the same way about Abraham Lincoln.

He says that reconstruction and the achievements which followed the war have been a failure. I feel very kindly, indeed, toward Mr. Root. He is a good blade of tempered steel in the hands of any President whom he will faithfully serve. Mr. Root also comes from a good, honest old Concord stock. There was never yet anything bad came out of that Nazareth. But there are some things that some men can do and some things that they cannot, and I do not think the American people will ever employ Mr. Root, or give him at any rate a monopoly or a trust in the business, to do their thinking for them on questions of righteousness and liberty. I do not think that when he goes out of office he will get a place with any of the great morning papers to supply their readers with the latest news from the Philippine Islands. Mr. Root thinks that this series of events in which all of us who have reached an advanced age had something to do has been a failure in relation to the negro. Well, let us see. In the first place we have abolished slavery. They do not own the negro any more. He owns himself. They do not separate the negro's wife from him or his children from him any more. They do not whip women or sell little children. They do not prevent him from working where he pleases; they do not make it a crime to teach him to read the Bible. They cannot send his children to a distance from him without his consent. Well, is that a failure? We have had but forty years. It is only since the year 1848, a little over half a century, since a little body of men met on Worcester Common, on the 28th of June—I myself had the honor of being present—and founded the Republican party. Now, if there is one generation in this world's history, if nothing else has been done, that has done a better or a greater thing than that single thing, I should like to invite them or their defenders to show their title.

Now, there is another thing we have done in this time. Why, I should like to have those gentlemen who have never witnessed it, witness a Sunday in Washington, any Sunday afternoon. Let them go into the parts of the city where the negroes dwell, and see the order and the quiet, the men going to church with their wives and children by their side, or coming

home clothed decently and quietly, and ask him whether he thinks that is a failure. Then there is another thing. When the civil war began we had fifteen slave States and sixteen free States, if you count Kansas. We have now forty-five States and shall soon have three or four more. We won't be in too great a hurry about it. In three of the old fifteen Southern States, Maryland and Delaware and West Virginia, the political and constitutional rights of the negro are as safe and are as much respected as they are in Massachusetts. There are only eleven or twelve to account for, where the old race feeling prevails; against these there are 36 or 38 States where in all but three of them the spirit of Slavery never existed in their recent history. They were freeborn. They did not obtain their freedom with a great sum, as the older States did. The old slave spirit has got into a corner on this Continent in this fifty years, and whatever unfortunate things may happen occasionally now or may happen for a little while hereafter, the purpose and the power to settle this question justly and rightly, with a due regard to the interests of both races and of all races, exists and is secure. There isn't any failure about that. There is another thing, and that is the examples that the negro is showing of a capacity to be slowly developed, painfully, with many throes and with many difficulties, but surely. What man has done man may do. I do not go to my dear old college as often as I would like on Commencement day. But when I do go it is always to hear the wonderful story of what some bright, young colored boy has done at Harvard. There are like cases at Amherst. Young Bruce and Lewis and others have graduated with the first honors, and not a boy in the class knows or cares about any difference of color or of race in his treatment of them. They are sure of absolute justice and absolute respect and of absolute equality and absolute dignity such as belongs to manhood in its very best examples, without any distinction whatever by reason of complexion. Is that a failure? I should like to have my friend Mr. Root say. Is there any citizen of the South listened to more respectfully everywhere on the Continent, North or South, than Booker Washington? I am summing up the achievements of a short

half century. I cannot say *Magna pars fui*," but I can say "*Omnia quae vidi.*"

We cannot, of course, settle some questions that are left, by outside interference. I know how sensitive our Southern friends are on this matter of social equality and companionship, and I think I might say fairly and properly and that perhaps I have a right to say it—that it is not wise for the people of the North to undertake to deal rashly or even to judge hastily of a feeling so deeply implanted in their bosoms. They know something about it, and while any negro who is a gentleman will be welcome at my table, and as a guest in my house at any time, I will not attempt to thrust my judgment in this matter upon men who have been differently educated. Time, the great reconciler, will reconcile them to that if, in the nature of things and in the nature of man, they ought to be reconciled to it. And if, in the nature of things and in the nature of man, time does not reconcile them it will be a sign that they ought not to be reconciled to it, and that some other mode of life for them must be devised.

Now, my friends having said what I thought of to say on this question, perhaps I may be indulged in adding that although my life, politically and personally, has been a life of almost constant strife with the leaders of the Southern people, yet as I grow older I have learned not only to respect and esteem, but to love the great qualities which belong to my fellow-citizens of the Southern States. They are a noble race. We may well take pattern from them in some of the great virtues which make up the strength as they make the glory of free States. Their love of home; their chivalrous respect for women; their courage; their delicate sense of honor; their constancy which can abide by an opinion, or a purpose, or an interest for their States, through adversity, and through prosperity, through the years and through the generations, are things by which the people of the more mercurial North may take a lesson.

And there is another thing—covetousness, corruption, the low temptation of money has not yet found any place in our Southern politics. They have shown something of that temper, much of it, which Macaulay ascribes to the younger Pitt.

when he says that Pitt in a moment of temptation might have been tempted to ruin his country, but he never would have stooped to pilfer from her.

I think if I were to recall the men whom I have met and honored in public life, that I should name, prominent among them all, four Southern gentlemen, three of them who are dead, and one who, though living has retired from public life. I think the most delightful gentleman I ever knew in Washington, without an exception, was General Walthall, of Mississippi. Another most delightful gentleman was Judge Jackson of the Supreme Court of the United States; a man sweet and gentle and quiet, but as firm as a rock in what he regarded as his duty. And I pride myself a good deal that I had the great honor of inducing President Harrison, very much in the beginning to his discontent, to appoint Judge Jackson to his place on the Supreme Court of the United States.

But a man of larger genius than these, as he was a man or larger genius, perhaps, than any other man of his time with few exceptions, was the late Lucius Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi. Mr. Lamar understood the temper of the people among whom he was born and bred. He would stand by a Southerner whether a rebel or offender of any kind against any attempt to punish him by any Northerner who interfered. But at the same time Senator Lamar heartily and earnestly and passionately desired to bring about complete reconciliation between the sections of his country. There was never a more skilful or admirable stroke than that of his when he uttered in the height of the Southern feeling just after the war, his memorable eulogy upon Charles Sumner. That eulogy, coming from the lips that had just before pronounced the eulogy of John C. Calhoun, was one of the very greatest single instrumentalities in bringing about the reconciliation that now happily exists.

The fourth of these men whom I have in mind is still living, Ex-Senator Donaldson Caffery of Louisiana. He was one of the bravest men that ever lived. He swam out, it is said, nearly three miles with an explosive bomb to set it off under the sides of one of our men-of-war somewhere off the Louis-

iana coast. The machinery went wrong, fortunately for us—and he got back just alive. He never did a dishonest or a mean thing or had a dishonest or a mean thought. He used to stand there in the Senate, with his short and sturdy figure and deliver his opinion, no matter who might like it or dislike it. He stood up against free silver in Louisiana. He stood up against violence towards the negro, and he stood up equally against the tariff policies which I—and I suppose most of you—believe in. No matter what wind was blowing outside, there stood that brave, heroic, Southern gentleman uttering the truth as it seemed to him.

Now, my friends, we cannot afford to live, we don't wish to live, and we will not live in a state of estrangement from a people who possess these qualities. They are of our kindred; bone of our bone; flesh of our flesh; blood of our blood; and whatever may be the temporary error of any Southern State, I, for one, if I have a right to speak for Massachusetts, say to her, "Entreat me not to leave thee nor to return from following after thee. For where thou goest I will go and where thou stayest I will stay also. And thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God."

THE TOASTMASTER: In the spirit of these eloquent words of Senator Hoar, I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Right Reverend Thomas F. Gailor, Bishop of Tennessee, who will speak upon "National Self-Consciousness and National Responsibility."



RIGHT REVEREND THOMAS F. GAILOR

Bishop Gailor's Address

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: It was my very earnest desire and sincere intention not to refer to-night in any way to the subject of the address of our venerable and most respected and honored Senator from Massachusetts; and yet it would seem that it would be impossible for me not to say about three words, under the inspiration of the most touching and noble utterance in these last words of his speech. Without them of course it would have been impossible for me to have said anything. At the same time I think that there are three considerations which we ought to bear in mind. In the first place, the negro race has no more earnest, honest, sincere friends in the world than the people who live in the Southern States. There is no section of any country where there are so many affectionate and loyal friendships existing between white and black as exist in those States. If, however, those people—my people—are still in doubt, first as to whether the negro race as a race is capable of independent progress on lines of culture, civilization and self-government, without the inspiration and contact of a superior race; if we are in doubt as to whether they have ever demonstrated any such capacity; if some of us think, for instance, that in our generation we are doing the best for these people, the very best thing that could be done for them by curbing, if possible, what is, in many minds, an insane ambition to rule and get the upper hand in politics, and by directing their attention to industrial pursuits, and to the cultivation of a self-reliant and useful character; if we think that way for our generation, after the very large experience we have had, that thought of ours at least deserves serious consideration. If we remember also that negroes of the full blood have not been conspicuous for their achievements in this country, and that it is the half blood which has attracted our attention; if we are offended sometimes at articles such as that which appeared in the October number of the Atlantic Monthly, and feel that it was not fair

that a magazine of high standing should put such an article in the fore front of its pages, in which the colored man who wrote it made the remark that if the white men in the South expected the negro permanently to be prevented from marrying white women they were making the mistake of driving the negro man to take advantage of white women in other ways; if we feel such statements as that and resent them as from those who do not understand the situation, certainly we might have just simply a little reasonable friendly sympathy. I am not defending Secretary Root, except so far as to say that no sane man in this country would deny the splendid results that have been accomplished. But that does not mean that the extreme partisan political theory of the era, which gave unrestricted political rights to the negro, has been fully justified or has established the fact that the whole mass of negroes, as a mass, are capable of the discharge of the full duties of citizenship. I understand that is what Secretary Root meant. Of course, he can defend himself, but it reminds me of what a negro friend of mine said to me the other day: "Bishop, the fact of the matter is," and I was reminded of this by a phrase that the Senator used, "up North, you know, they won't let us make no money, because they keep us out of the trades; but in the South they let us make the money, but they won't let us spend it. We cannot make it in the North, but they are willing for us to spend it up there. But we can make it in the South and they won't let us spend it down here." And as for results, as the Senator has described them, it reminds me of a little incident that was told by my friend, Mr. Packard, in Maryland. He said he had an acquaintance down on the Eastern shore whom he had not seen for years, and he met him one day and he said, "John, how are you getting on?" "I am getting on tolerable peart. I have had my ups and downs and my backwards and forwards. But I came out pretty well in the end." "Well, what have you been doing?" "Well," he said, "my old aunt left me some money, and I didn't know what to do with it and I got to reading the newspapers, and they said there were some good investments in these Colorado lands; so I went out and bought a farm in Colorado, and I fenced it in and stocked it with sheep." "That's good."

"No, that ain't so very good, because, you see, they had a drowth that year, and nothing grew, and the sheep nearly all starved to death." "Well, that is bad." "No, that ain't so very bad, because, you see, in going out there looking after that farm, I met up with a mighty likely girl, and I fell in love with her and courted her and married her." "That's good." "No, that in't so good, either. Because, you see, after I married her I found out she had the most villianous temper of anybody I ever saw in my life; she was like a wildcat." "Well, that's bad." "Well, no," he says, "that ain't so very bad, because, you see, she had a lot of money, and I got a hold of that money, and I built a fine house and put some nice furniture and pictures in it, and it was the finest house in this section of the country." "Well, that's good." "Well, no, that ain't so very good, because, you see, we hadn't more than got living in the house before it took fire one night, and I didn't carry any insurance, and it burnt down." "Well, that's bad." "Well, no, that ain't so very bad, because, you see, the confounded woman burnt up with it." So there is always something to be thankful for. Now, I am quite sure that this subject that has been assigned to me is a very great subject, and I am quite unable to treat it adequately in the course of an informal talk like this and yet it seems to me on an occasion like the present there is no subject more interesting or more fascinating than the history of our country, and that history it seems to me above all else, is the record of the development of National self-consciousness with the corresponding increase of the sense of National responsibility. A great Nation, after all, is like an individual person, and the realization of itself by itself—of its life, its duty and its destiny—is a thing of gradual growth. Our government is the result undoubtedly of an evolution. It illustrates that evolution when I can say that the United States to-day furnishes the easiest and the clearest record to any student of the gradual consolidation of a free people into a personal nationality in a free government. George Washington in his time would have said and always did say "*the United States are* an example." I remember reading a volume of his letters just a short while ago and I was impressed very much by the way in which Mr. Washington used

the plural verb when he spoke of the United States. But in 1703 the emphasis was upon the States. In 1903 the emphasis is upon the *union*. It indicates the growth of our National personal self-consciousness.

Now, the thing that strikes the student in the record of this change that has come over our habit of thought and speech is the impossibility at any epoch in our history of predicting with any certainty the result of policies. The history of this country has been the despair of political philosophers and of theoretical prognosticators. When to day, for instance, we read Elliott's debates and study the objections of the opponents to the draft constitution of 1787, or when we ponder those words of Mr. Alexander Hamilton, that great and true patriot, when he said that this constitution is a "frail and worthless fabric," we can only smile at their forebodings. The very elements which seemed to them to be elements of weakness have in many instances proved to be actually elements of strength. What man of note, for instance, in 1803 would have admitted the righteousness and the safety of committing this government to the guidance and the control honestly of the will of the common people, and yet what man is there in 1903 who has not been taught by the history of these 100 years that in the long run—it may be a very long run—but in the long run, there is no more stable basis for political rectitude and political safety than the simple, honest common sense of the masses of our American citizens. Is it not significant, is it not prophetic, that the two men who, since Washington and Marshall, have done more than any two men perhaps to direct the policy of this country, and to shape the government, have been men, who were not college graduates, who were not professional statesmen, but who were plain men of plain people—Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. I tell you, that, to the true patriot who recognizes the fact that the will of this people in the last analysis is the true basis of government—it is a matter of encouragement and hope for us to remember that the common people in every epoch of this country's history have done their duty, and have seen the right as they have been instructed, and that the country itself has disappointed all these men that have prophesied failure. For the omens of De

Tosqueville and the doubts of Hamilton have both been discredited. When, therefore, a writer of our political history from a neighboring monarchy ventures to make light of the war of the revolution and say it was a small thing, and to detract from the fame of some of our American heroes, we can afford to be silent, as we point to a people, who after all, through much tribulation, have demonstrated, I believe, a wise and patient and enlightened judgment in the conduct of public affairs. In the same way the civil war to these political philosophers seemed to sound the death knell of the Republic. Personally, I am not convinced that even if the confederacy had succeeded there would have been a permanent separation lasting through generations on this Continent. There were too many men in the South like Alexander H. Stephens, whose hearts were wedded to the union, for any portion of this country under the control of our Anglo-Saxon people, to have degenerated into the condition of the South American Republics. But as we look back through forty years upon that great struggle we must be impressed by the fact that it was a terrible and almost inexplicable conflict of misconception and misunderstanding. When Stephens in 1861—as true and generous a patriot as this country ever had—declared that the war of aggression for the purpose of coercing the seceding States meant to his mind the violation of the constitution and the rule of anarchy, he said what he believed honestly to be true. And from his point of view he was right; and the men that followed him were true patriots, because they shed their blood not for self-interest, but for what at least they believed to be in their generation their duty and their liberties. On the other hand, the men who recognized in that struggle that the whole fate not only of the Nation, but of the very Republic itself, depended upon the issue, and gave their lives unselfishly to prove it, those men were patriots and deserving of everlasting honor from posterity. But when a man whose mind is built on a three by four plan, like the squares of a checkerboard, tells me it was impossible that both should be right, I say to him it was not impossible; and that it was not the first time in the history of a people that good men saw opposite sides of the same shield or that the new birth of a great Nation

was brought about by the conflict of honest, but diverse opinions, heroically and unselfishly defended.

To us in the South to-day that civil war seems to be a stage in the evolution of the Nation, and we welcome all its results. The highest patriotism, however, does not compel a man to see in every detail of that process the actual interference of the divine power and will. It is sufficient for us to know that God makes the wrath of man to praise him, and that out of the hot furnace of that affliction he forged a Nation, in which the mutual respect and honor of section toward section has toughened the fibre of loyalty in all its citizens and made fine steel out of common iron. But my contention is that at every point the prophets of failure have been mistaken, and that this country's inconsistent inconsistencies have been the despair of that class of minds which are always trying to weigh men's enthusiasm in a steel balance and to measure the rainbow with a foot rule.

Gentlemen, this Republic is the greatest combination that the world has yet seen. And if every individual man, and if every generation of voters do their duty with mutual respect and good will as God gives it to them to see it in their time, we need not fear for the results: only let us remember that we are more successful in interpreting history than in forecasting it. And that the Nation is greater than we are, greater than our theories, greater than any section, greater than any class, and that the Nation will be here, and will increase in honor and glory, when our philosophies have been forgotten and we are in the dust. The only danger we have to fear to-day is that some particular section of our people shall become so wedded to their own conclusions as to how we ought to grow and what liberty really involves that they shall attempt to set up new standards of patriotism, and sit in judgment on their fellow-citizens.

I might quote the distinguished author of the "Winning of the West," who is now the President of the United States, with approval (and I hope that I shall be forgiven by all those who come from that section of the country), when I use his language, as he says, that "New England has always been weak in historical perspective when it has tried to predict the

future of our country." This government of ours reaches over a vast geographical area. It covers a vast variety of population and every section has its own peculiar problems. One section with which I am familiar, a section made up of people who represent pure and almost unadulterated descent from revolutionary ancestry, have their own peculiar burdens which they are trying to carry with the measure of wisdom that God has granted them for their generation. They are trying to do their duty, as God gives it to them to see their duty, with the experience they have had, for the very best interests of all concerned. They do not attempt to forecast the future; they do not attempt to set up any barriers for succeeding generations; they leave the future in God's hands, and they say it may safely be left there; but they do ask for a friendly judgment and consideration, and that men of one idea, who deal in abstractions and live on abstractions, and make no allowance for peculiar conditions, shall not be able to prejudice the public mind against their neighbors, who happen to differ from them as to matters of local policy. And yet I know that that is the temptation of all people in a government like ours. You know, for example, that a democracy has its weakness and its strength, and its strength and its weakness are in its tendency to develop the individual character, and, as far as the quality of its individual citizenship is concerned, the United States can face the world to-day and not be ashamed. But the danger of individualism is that it exalts the mere active, strenuous, eager life; it encourages the assertion and self-laudation of the merely commonplace and superficial. Whereas the great deeps of life, my friends, are not stirred by excitement, they are not swept by noisy passion and parade, and what we Americans need is a glimpse of the eternal silence, where duty and not rights, ends and not means, are the objects of life and thought. Therefore, I welcome the power which has thrown us in spite of ourselves, and almost without our knowledge, out yonder into the open, where we have got to answer the question which God Almighty sooner or later asks every Nation, "What have you got to give? What have you that is worth giving, for the common benefit, for the common blessing of mankind?" I rejoice in it, I say, because,

however it may have been begun, whatever may be the political feeling in regard to it. I feel that it is the promise and prophecy of that new patriotism, that patriotism in its "eternal and divine form" which goes out beyond the limits of any section, beyond the limits of any country and becomes a vision of hopefulness for all mankind.

In one thing to-night certainly we all agree, to one inspiration we can all yield our minds and our hearts, and that is the greatness and beneficence of this Nation, as a power for good, not only to ourselves and to our children, but to all the world. As George Washington said in one of the last letters he ever wrote "Our happiness as citizens of this country will never be complete until we extend it somehow to other people." But the Nation is self-conscious to-day as never before, because great new responsibilities have compelled the vigorous assertion of personal life, and are slowly but surely revealing to us all and to the Nation, that altruism, the unselfish thought of others not ourselves, is God's plan and God's law of true happiness and true prosperity, for peoples as well as for individuals. I tell you, in the presence of the great class and industrial problems that loom up before us, it is this spirit that we need to cultivate, because it is going to be in the dominion of the gospel of love and not hate, of interest and not indifference, of sympathy and not contempt, that we are going to solve the great questions of the future of this country.

Like Rome, we have had our wars that have built up the present Nation and made the ascendancy of the Republic. Like Rome, too, perhaps, we are threatened by the domination of a class called *nóble*, whose title to nobility is based upon material wealth and not upon service to their country, who represent the power of material resources, and not of principle. But we may escape Rome's failure and Rome's judgment, if the new obligations of service to mankind, given us by God, shall be accepted and discharged in the spirit of justice to ourselves and to other men, sweetened by love and smypathy, and if we stand together as brethren in mutual confidence and mutual good will, section by section, fixed in our devotion and loyalty to this Nation, to this country, in the sacred bonds

of our history and of our race, pledged to meet every question and every problem fairly and honestly; with love, with free thought, and free speech, trying ever to be faithful to that eternal God who is our refuge, and underneath the Everlasting Arms.

THE TOASTMASTER: It was a happy coincidence that in 1869 when Massachusetts sent George F. Hoar to the Congress of the United States, Harvard University chose a new President, outside the ranks of the ministry. From that day there began, not merely a new era in the record of Harvard, but a new era in the history of education, not only in America but in England as well. When Lowell, in that splendid Harvard Anniversary oration, said that his *alma mater* would continue to make a gentleman of every youth sent there—not a conventional gentleman, but a man of public spirit, of culture, of intellectual resource, “a man of refinement, with that good taste which is the conscience of the mind, and with that conscience which is the good taste of the soul,” he knew the President upon whom the training of those students depended, and to whom they would look not only for precept but for example. Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in presenting President Eliot, who will speak to us of “Washington’s Time and Our Time; Contrasts and Resemblances.”



DR. CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT

Dr. Charles William Eliot

The Right Reverend speaker who has just addressed you, gentlemen, indicated some doubt as to whether New England has perspective enough to give a just prophecy concerning the future of our country. I think New England has pretty thoroughly accepted Lowell's advice about prophecy—"Don't never prophesy unless you know." But those who listened to the oration of the afternoon, I am sure, made up their minds that one New Englander at least had perspective enough to set before us a just estimate of the character and services of Washington; and I recall that the delegates from Massachusetts in the Continental Congress of 1775, had perspective enough to vote unanimously for George Washington, the Virginian, as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. The orator of the day gave us clearly to understand that the virtues of Washington were of two kinds, the splendid and the homely; and knowing that Senator Hoar must from very nature of the case set before you in the afternoon his grander qualities, I felt safe in adopting, for my part, some consideration of Washington as a man of homely virtues, giving our far-removed generation a homely example.

The first contrast to which I invite your attention is the contrast between the early age at which Washington began to profit by the discipline of real life and the late age at which our educated young men exchange study under masters, and seclusion in institutions of learning, for personal adventure and responsibility out in the world. Washington was a public surveyor at 16 years of age. He could not spell well; but he could make a correct survey, keep a good journal, and endure the hardships to which a surveyor in the Virginia wilderness was inevitably exposed. Our expectation of good service and hard work from boys of 16, not to speak of young men of 26, is very low. I have heard it maintained in

a learned college faculty that young men who were on the average 19 years of age, were not fit to begin the study of economics or philosophy, even under the guidance of skilful teachers, and that no young man could nowadays begin the practice of a profession to advantage before he was 26 or 27 years old. Now, Washington was at 21 the Governor of Virginia's messenger to the French forts beyond the Alleghenies. He was already an accomplished woodman, an astute negotiator with savages and the French, and the cautious yet daring leader of a company of raw, insubordinate frontiersmen, who were to advance 500 miles into a wilderness with nothing but an Indian trail to follow. . In 1755, at 23 years of age, 20 years before the Revolutionary War broke out, he was a skilful and experienced fighter, and a colonel in the Virginia service. What a contrast to our college undergraduates of to-day, who, at 22 years of age are still getting their bodily vigor through sports and not through real work, and who seldom seem to realize that, just as soon as they have acquired the use of the intellectual tools and stock with which a livelihood is to be earned in business or in the professions, the training of active life is immeasurably better than the training of the schools. Yet Washington never showed at any age the least spark of genius; he was only "sober, sensible, honest, and brave," as he said of Major-General Lincoln in 1791.

By inheritance and by marriage Washington became, while he was still young, one of the richest men in the country; but what a contrast between his sort of riches and our sorts! He was a planter and sportsman—a country gentleman. All his home days were spent in looking after his farms; in breeding various kinds of domestic animals; in fishing for profit; in attending to the diseases and accidents which befall livestock, including slaves; in erecting buildings, and repairing them; in caring for or improving his mills, barns, farm implements, and tools. He always lived very close to nature, and from his boyhood studied the weather, the markets, his crops and woods, and the various qualities of his lands. He was an economical husbandman, attending to all the details of the management of his large estates. He was constantly on

horseback, often riding 15 miles on his daily rounds. At 67 years of age he caught the cold which killed him by getting wet on horseback, riding as usual about his farms.

Compare this sort of life, physical and mental, with the life of the ordinary rich American of to-day, who has made his money in stocks and bonds, or as a banker, or broker, or trader, or in the management of great transportation or industrial concerns. This modern rich man, in all probability, has nothing whatever to do with nature or with country life. He is soft and tender in body; lives in the city; takes no vigorous exercise, and has very little personal contact with the elemental forces of either nature or mankind. He is not like Washington an out-of-door man. Washington was a combination of land-owner, magistrate, and soldier,—the best combination for a leader of men which the feudal system produced. Our modern rich man is apt to possess no one of these functions, any one of which, well discharged, has in times past commanded the habitual respect of mankind. It is a grave misfortune for our country, and especially for our rich men, that the modern forms of property,—namely, stocks and bonds, mortgages, and city buildings—do not carry with them any inevitable responsibilities to the state, or involve their owner in personal risks and charges as a leader or commander of the people. The most enviable rich man to-day is the intelligent industrial or commercial adventurer or promoter, in the good sense of those terms. He takes risks and assumes burdens on a large scale, and has a chance to develop will, mind, and character, just as Queen Elizabeth's adventures did all over the then known world.

Again, Washington, as I have already indicated, was an economical person, careful about little expenditures as well as great, averse to borrowing money, and utterly impatient of waste. If a slave were hopelessly ill, he did not call a doctor, because it would be a useless expenditure. He insisted that the sewing woman, Carolina, who had only made five shirts in a week, not being sick, should make nine. He entered in his account "thread and needle, one penny," and used said thread and needle himself. All this closeness and contempt for shiftlessness and prodigality were perfectly consistent with

a large and hospitable way of living; for during many years of his life he kept open house at Mt. Vernon. This frugal and prudent man knew exactly what it meant to devote his "life and fortune to the cause we are engaged in, if needful," as he wrote in 1774. This was not an exaggerated or emotional phrase. It was moderate, but it meant business. He risked his whole fortune. What he lost through his service in the Revolutionary War is clearly stated in a letter written from Mt. Vernon in 1784: "I made no money from my estate during the nine years I was absent from it, and brought none home with me. Those who owed me, for the most part, took advantage of the depreciation, and paid me off with sixpence in the pound. Those to whom I was indebted, I have yet to pay, without other means, if they will wait, than selling part of my estate, or distressing those who were too honest to take advantage of the tender laws to quit scores with me." Should we not all be glad if to-day a hundred or two multi-millionaires could give such an account as that of their losses incurred in the public service, even if they had not, like Washington, risked their lives as well? In our times we have come to think that a rich man should not be frugal or economical, but rather wasteful or extravagant. We have even been asked to believe that a cheap coat makes a cheap man. If there were a fixed relation between a man's character and the price of his clothes, what improvement we should have seen in the national character since 1893! At Harvard University, 1,200 students take three meals a day in the great dining room of Memorial Hall, and manage the business themselves through an elected President and Board of Directors. These officers proscribe stews, apparently because it is a form in which cheap meat may be offered them, neglecting the more important fact that the stew is the most nutritious and digestible form in which meats can be eaten. Mr. Edward Atkinson, the economist, invented an oven in which various kinds of foods may be cheaply and well prepared with a minimum of attention to the process. The workingmen, among whom he attempted to introduce it, took no interest in it whatever, because it was recommended to them as a cheap way of preparing inexpensive though excellent foods. This modern temper affords a most

striking contrast to the practices and sentiments of Washington, sentiments and practices which underlay his whole public life as well as his private life.

If he were alive to-day, would he not be bewildered by much of our talk about the rights of men and animals? Washington's mind dwelt very little on rights and very much on duties. For him, patriotism was a duty; good citizenship was a duty; and for the masses of mankind it was a duty to clear away the forest, till the ground, and plant fruit trees, just as he prescribed to the hoped-for tenants on his Ohio and Kanawha lands. For men and women in general he thought it a duty to increase and multiply, and to make the wilderness glad with rustling crops, lowing herds, and children's voices. When he retired from the Presidency, he expressed the hope that he might "make and sell a little flour annually." For the first soldier and first statesman of his country, surely this was a modest anticipation of continued usefulness. We think more about our rights than about our duties. He thought more about his duties than about his rights. Posterity has given him first place because of the way in which he conceived and performed his duties; it will judge the leaders of the present generation by the same standard, whatever their theories about human rights.

Having said thus much about contrasts, let me now turn to some interesting resemblances between Washington's times and our own. We may notice in the first place the permanency of the fighting quality in the English-American stock. Washington was all his life a fighter. The entire American people is to-day a fighting people, prone to resort to force and prompt to take arms, the different sections of the population differing chiefly in regard to the nature and amount of the provocation which will move them to violence and combat. To this day nothing moves the admiration of the people so quickly as composure, ingenuity, and success in fighting; so that even in political contests all the terms and similes are drawn from war, and among American sports the most popular have in them a large element of combat. Washington was roused and stimulated by the dangers of the battlefield, and utterly despised cowards,

or even men who ran away in battle from a momentary terror which they did not habitually manifest. His early experience taught him, however, that the Indian way of fighting in woods or on broken ground was the most effective way; and he did not hesitate to adopt and advocate that despised mode of fighting, which has now, 150 years later, become the only possible mode. The Indian in battle took instantly to cover, if he could find it. In our civil war both sides learned to throw up breastworks wherever they expected an engagement to take place; and the English in South Africa have demonstrated that the only possible way to fight with the present long range, quick-firing guns is the way in which the "treacherous devils," as Washington called the Indians, fought General Braddock, that is, with strategem, surprise, and ambuscade; with hiding and crawling behind screens and obstacles, with the least possible appearance in open view, with nothing that can glitter on either arms or clothes, and with no visible distinction between officers and men. War is now a genuinely Indian performance, just as Washington saw 150 years ago that it ought to be.

The silent Washington's antipathy to the press finds an exact parallel in our own day. He called the writers of the press "infamous scribblers." President Cleveland called them "ghouls." But it must be confessed that the newspapers of Washington's time surpassed those of the present day in violence of language, and in lack of prophetic insight and just appreciation of men and events. When Washington retired from the Presidency the "Aurora" said, "If ever a Nation was debauched by a man, the American Nation has been debauched by Washington."

Some of the weaknesses or errors of the Congresses of Washington's time have been repeated in our own day, and seem as natural to us as they doubtless seemed to the men of 1776 and 1796. Thus, the Continental Congress incurred all the evils of a depreciated currency with the same blindness which afflicted the Congress of the Southern Confederacy and the Union Congress during the civil war, or the Democrat-Populist party of still more recent times. The refusal of the Congress of 1777, to carry out the agreement made

with the Hessian prisoners at Saratoga, reminds one of the refusal of Congress, in spite of the public exhortations of our present Executive, and his cabinet, to carry out the understanding with Cuba in regard to the commercial relations of the island with the United States. In both cases the honor of the country was tarnished.

The intensity of party spirit in Washington's time closely resembles that of our own day, but was certainly fiercer than it is now, the reason being that the questions at issue were absolutely fundamental. When the question was whether the constitution of the United States was a sure defense for freedom, or a trap to ensnare an unsuspecting people, intensity of feeling on both sides was well nigh inevitable. During Washington's two administrations a considerable number of the most eminent American publicists feared that dangerous autocratic powers had been conferred on the President by the constitution. Washington held that there was no ground for these fears, and acted as if the supposition was absurd. When the question was whether we should love and adhere to revolutionary France, or rather become partisans of Great Britain—the power from which we had just won independence—it is no wonder that political passions burnt fiercely. On this question Washington stood between the opposing parties, and often commended himself to neither. In spite of the tremendous partisan heat of the times, Washington, through both his administrations, made appointments to public office from both parties indifferently. He appointed some well-known Tories and many Democrats. He insisted only on fitness as regards character, ability, and experience, and preferred persons, of whatever party, who had already proved their capacity in business or the professions, or in legislative or administrative offices. It is a striking fact that Washington is the only one of the Presidents of the United States who has, as a rule, acted on these principles. His example was not followed by his early successors, or by any of the more recent occupants of the Presidency. His successors, elected by a party, have not seen their way to make appointments without regard to party connections. The Civil Service Reform agitation of the last 25 years is nothing but an effort to return, in regard to the

humbler national offices, to the practice of President Washington.

In spite of these resemblances between Washington's time and our own, the profound contrasts make the resemblances seem unimportant. In the first years of the Government of the United States there was widespread and genuine apprehension lest the executive should develop too much power, and lest the centralization of the Government should become overwhelming. Nothing can be farther from our political thoughts to-day than this dread of the power of the national executive. On the contrary, we are constantly finding that it is feeble where we wish it were strong, impotent where we wish it omnipotent. The Senate of the United States has deprived the President of much of the power intended for his office, and has then found it, on the whole, convenient and desirable to allow itself to be held up by any one of its members who possesses the bodily strength and the assurance to talk or read aloud by the week. Other forces have developed within the republic quite outside of the government, which seem to us to override and almost defy the closely limited governmental forces. Quite lately we have seen two of these new forces—one a combination of capitalists, the other a combination of laborers—put the President of the United States into the position of a mediator between two parties whom he could not control, and with whom he must intercede. This is part of the tremendous nineteenth century democratic revolution, and of the newly acquired facilities for combination and association for the promotion of common interests. We no longer dread abuse of the power of state or church; we do dread abuse of the powers of compact bodies of men, highly organized, and consenting to be despotically ruled for the advancement of their selfish interests.

Washington was a stern disciplinarian in war; if he could not shoot deserters he wanted them "stoutly whipped." He thought that army officers should be of a different class from their men, and should never put themselves on an equality with their men; he went himself to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794, and always believed that firm government was essential to freedom. He never could have imagined for

a moment the toleration of disorder and violence which is now exhibited everywhere in our country when a serious strike occurs. He was the chief actor through the long struggles, military and civil, which attended the birth of this nation, and took the gravest responsibilities which could then fall to the lot of soldiers or statesmen; but he never encountered, and indeed never imagined, the anxieties and dangers which now beset the republic of which he was the founder. We face new difficulties. Shall we face them with Washington's courage, wisdom, and success?

Finally, I ask your attention to the striking contrast between the wealth of Washington and the poverty of Abraham Lincoln, the only one of the succeeding Presidents who won anything like the place in the popular heart that Washington has always occupied. Washington while still young was one of the richest men in the country; Lincoln, while young, was one of the poorest; both rendered supreme service to their country and to freedom; between these two extremes men of many degrees as regards property holding have occupied the Presidency, the majority of them being men of moderate means. The lesson to be drawn from these facts seems to be that the Republic can be greatly served by rich and poor alike, but has oftenest been served creditably by men who were neither rich nor poor. In the midst of the present conflicts between employers and employed, between the classes that are already well to do and the classes who believe it to be the fault of the existing order that they too are not well to do, and in plain sight of the fact that democratic freedom permits the creation and perpetuation of greater differences as regards possessions than the world has ever known before, it is comforting to remember that true patriots and wise men are bred in all the social levels of a free commonwealth, and that the Republic may find in any condition of life safe leaders and just rulers.

THE TOASTMASTER: It was said of Burke that the quality of his oratory was due to the fact that he read history with his imagination. Our poet-preacher, teacher, and lover of his kind, has, with all his other talents, imagination.

"For in *his* veins some Orient blood is red,
And through *his* thought are lotus blossoms blown."

I introduce Doctor Frank W. Gunsaulus, who will speak on "Three Characteristic Men."

Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus

I think, Mr. President, that we are all agreed in our happiness that Massachusetts is so much in evidence on this commemorative occasion. Boston once honored Chicago in holding a series of mortgages on our city which took something more than cash to entirely remove. You, sir, have been chosen our President for this year solely because your wife is a Massachusetts woman. Our Chaplain here, born in Illinois and peculiarly gifted with the breeziness of the West, has turned toward the consummation of his work and is foresworn to obtain coronation for his abilities already distinguished in the pulpit in Massachusetts. Our eminent guest from the South, the eloquent prelate who honors us with his presence here to-night, would be the last to refuse the tribute of gratitude from the land of the cavalier that Washington, the son of the cavalier, found the significance of his sword under the elm at Cambridge in Massachusetts. "Virginia gave us this imperial man," and

"Never to see a Nation born
Hath been given to mortal man,
Unless to those who on that summit morn
Gazed silent when the great Virginian
Unsheathed his sword whose fatal flash
Shot union into the incoherent clash
Of our loose atoms, crystallizing them
Around a single will's unpliant stem
And making purpose of emotion rash."

The illustrious men, the Senator from Massachusetts, and the educator who has made a Massachusetts College one of the foremost universities of the world, here agree that Chicago's preception of the value of George Washington is obtained from that point of view inevitably occupied by the Yankee. We are accused out here of a certain vastness of expression for opulent or penurious thinking; but, if the

tradition is true, it was one of the most ingrained Yankees of Yankeedom who taught us so to think and so to speak. At that famous dinner where Benjamin Franklin was present some one said: "Here are three nationalities represented. I am French, my friend is English and Mr. Franklin is American. Let each propose a toast." The Englishman arose and in the tone of a Briton bold said: "Here's to Great Britain, the sun that gives light to the nations of the earth." The Frenchman was rather taken back at this, but he proposed: "Here's to France, the moon whose magic rays move the tides of the world." Franklin then rose and with an air of quaint modesty said: "Here's to George Washington, the Joshua of America, who commanded the sun and moon to stand still—and they stood still."

It is well nigh impossible to admit that fact that the Puritan Revolution in England under Charles I crossed the sea, and, after a century and a half, became the American Revolution under George III, without seeing that in some measure at least, Oliver Cromwell and George Washington may each be studied profitably in the presence of the other. It is interesting to believe in an unfounded legend that we might have had him in New England, had the Great Remonstrance in old England failed. Certain it is, however, that his problem with the King was ours with parliament. Edmund Burke saw it, when he said, in 1774, "The feelings of the Colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No, but the payment of half twenty shillings on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave." Cromwell's accredited student calls him "the most English of Englishmen." Our serious study in the light of events has shown us Washington "the most American of Americans." Those one hundred and fifty years between the hour when Hampden refused to pay the ship money and that when the chests of tea were emptied into Boston harbor had been years in which the new growth out of Anglicism, beginning a definite sort of intellectual independence in 1620, developed its own qualities amidst new and quickening atmos-

pheres, and in 1775, Americanism, though unforgetful of the English root out of which it sprang, was conscious of its own definite being; and as the Anglicism of 1656 had its Cromwell the Americanism of 1787 had its Washington. In the fierce light that beats about their thrones in these critical moments they stand. If Cromwell had learned the vision within and the vision without, on the grazing farm in St. Ives, Washington knew them in the large and serene beauties of Mt. Vernon. When each man was called from vision to action, Cromwell found in a Charles I what Washington met in George III. If Charles had grown arrogant at Whitehall over the royal prerogative, the parliament of George III had made an unreasoning conceit its disease at Westminster.

If the counsel of Edward Hampden argued from the Great Charter, so did Samuel Adams and John Hancock. If Charles' secret correspondence proved this willingness to make any agency serve his desperate cause, the court of George III exhausted the resources of evil machination to defeat the colonists. With each, the principles involved knew no persons or association. If Charles I and Oliver had played together at Hinchingbrook, Washington had surveyed the territory for a British Lord and for England, and had fought against the land which was to give him and his copatriots LaFayette. Both had stood with ideas, without artillery to give them defense or armies to give them victory, and if Cromwell with sharp untuneable voice, had made Sir Philip Warwick to lose his reverence for the "Long Parliament," Washington had helped to mould the nascent civilization of Virginia and had borne for the governor an important part in the attempted settlement with France. If Cromwell wore his sword in the Long Parliament "stuck close by his side," Washington's musket was ever in reach. If behind the sword of Cromwell, there were passions, which, burning brightly and intensely, fused the fanatics into the Ironsides, behind Washington's musket were those which would fuse the disassociated sentiments of a wide continent into a single power whose glow should flash across the sea from the elm of Cambridge to the Court of the King. If Cromwell subscribed self-sacrificingly when he left his home for the service of the commonwealth, Washington saw, as he

said, and acted upon his dolorous conviction that "the once happy and powerful vales of America were either to be drenched in blood or to be inhabited by slaves."

We follow them to the field. In each army, conscience sits like an angel upon the standards of the revolutionists. If Cromwell said that "they must make some Conscience of what they did," Washington demonstrated the assertion that he had no faith in an army which he had did not clothe itself in righteousness. Each knew that spiritual power alone is supreme. If Cromwell had said that "a few honest men are better than numbers," Washington had been willing to trust that truth in leading the thin line of American hope and honor against the mighty hosts of England. If Cromwell at Gainsborough, with tired cavalry, held the fresh troops of the enemy so that in the retreat not a man was lost, Washington forced his way through the ice and flood of the Delaware, and saw his great enemy retreat to Princeton. If Cromwell's chivalry in 1656 would not allow the Dutch ambassadors to kiss his hand, but bowed himself instead, that of Washington acceded to the rank of Braddock and tolerated no false pride in transforming defeat into victory. Still, in a peculiar sense, the power, the courage, the faith, the victory of Cromwell were English; those of Washington were American.

At the close of the revolution in England, so nearly had Cromwell come to embodying the English ideal and spirit, that the young Charles made it impossible for him to decline the august rule; so truly had Washington incarnated Americanism that he had never taken a sceptre of influence which he might not yield to the people. Through the revolution of England, and after, Cromwell was imperious, authoritative, absolute; through that of America, and after, Washington was gentle, commanding, nevertheless republican.

The character of Cromwell reflects more of the Old Testament; that of Washington, more of the New. Cromwell listened to Dr. Owen and others, vindicating with reasons taken from the wars of Joshua his war on Spain; Washington took the communion bread and wine, in a church not his own, thus making memorial of a scene where, before one cross, all men were made equal. Cromwell gave to each member of the

deputation from Parliament "two Scotch men" as slaves; Washington's great soul had no higher hopes than the abolition of slavery. Cromwell conquered a weak despotism and builded a stronger on its ruins; Washington curbed the ambition of despotism and lifted a republic into life where that despotism stood, armed and intolerant. Cromwell preached more truth than he trusted; Washington trusted more truth than he preached. In the soul of Cromwell, quoting for the most part from the Psalms and from the campaigns of the Old Testament, there was no place for the republicanism of Ludlow and Sir Harry Vane; in the soul of Washington, who had loved from Sinai to Calvary, rang again the lofty music of Samuel Adams' eloquence, in which the soul of Vane seemed again to walk the street of Boston. It was impossible for Cromwell to so escape his Anglicism as to trust truth absolutely, and above the baptismal record of the Protector are written the words, "England's pest for five years." It was impossible for Washington to escape the Americanism of the vision within and that without, and over his we write, "The Father of his Country." Nothing can outshine the glory of Washington at Newburg. Each refused a kingdom greater than any other. Cromwell hesitated through many days. Washington sprang upon the ghost of despotism, and it vanished from the land he had saved. Heroic, sublime, were both. In the fierce criticism by honored men in their own armies; yet Cromwell was strong often because to him might made right; Washington always because right made might. So deep was the great truth for which each stood that near the spot where Cotton wrote his sympathy to Cromwell, Washington, after a century transformed Cromwell's failure to win supremacy for Puritanism into triumph.

England has her Cromwell, America her Washington. France, thus far, has produced no such figure as her Napoleon. In the solitude of exile, from the deep shadow of St. Helena, there came the voice of Napoleon, ambitious in defeat and death, summoning the name of Washington into comparison with his own. "All that I was allowed to be," said the exile, "was a crowned Washington." The glory of his hundred battles had been quenched in furious defeat at Waterloo, but

the restless giant whose touch had shattered the policies of the Orient sought to explain himself in the atmosphere of this serene soul. It was midnight, proud of its ebony gloom, asking an honor from the rising sun. In this contrast, how sublime is the Americanism of Washington. How surely this imperial spirit moves away from the Cæsars of Rome and the Bonapartes of France. "Washington is dead," said Napoleon to the consular guard, at the moment when he was about to dazzle the eyes of Paris and bewilder France with a spectacle; "Washington is dead, that great man who fought against tyranny and consolidated his country in freedom. His memory will always be dear to Frenchmen and to all freedom in both worlds, but especially to the French soldiers, who, like him and the American soldiers, have contended for liberty and equality." The black crape which Napoleon suspended for ten days from the battle-standards of France, meant the death of national freedom much more than solemn honor for the deathless American. Never was the truth of history so dragged at the chariot wheels of superficial oratory as when the orator of the day scattered flowers of the same hue and fragrance upon George Washington and Napoleon Bonaparte.

The revolution in France was a giant sceptre before it took the features of Napoleon. The revolution in America was an infant when it sprang into the personality of Washington. The revolution in France had behind it the overthrown laws, the wrecked traditions, the despised religion, the ruined virtue, powers whose defeat had marked an hour when the vision of France was full of passion and red with blood; the revolution of America had behind it the intelligent triumph of the Pilgrims, and the resolute virtue of the Puritan, and the courage which conceived itself able to execute that gospel of statesmanship. For the one stood Napoleon; for the other, Washington. If, from the first, the garments of the Corsican captain had the odor of the battlefield, it came from such fields as marked the triumph of Alexander or Cæsar; if, from the first, the eyes of the Virginia Colonel seemed to flash forth the suggestion of the past, it gave those of battlefields whose chief actors were William of

Nassau and Oliver Cromwell. Always the difference of the standards lay in the cross of Christ. Behind the Napoleon of Marengo was the doctrine: "Might is right;" behind Washington, when his immortal voice sounded yonder, there was the doctrine, "Right is might." The French Emperor in his youth had known the Reign of Terror; the American General knew the reign of order instead. In after years, no law was sacred to the Corsican; nothing was so sacred as law to the Virginian. Napoleon, beginning a Jacobin and dying an autocrat, was the crafty transformer of political conviction and accepted rule; Washington, a young surveyor, saw in the silences of the forest that which glittered on the edge of his wood yonder at Cambridge, and hung like a heavenly vision in the tears of gratitude at Yorktown. At the brink of his grave at St. Helena Napoleon wrote to Joseph, "I want a family of kings." In the peaceful life at Mount Vernon, Washington beheld a republic where every family was royal. In the failure of Napoleon's conception, you behold a heartbroken conqueror conquered at last, dragged away, with memories of woe and of a nationality besotted with gore, to die on that lonely rock; after the achievement of Washington, we hear the lofty strains of the true Americanism saying, as he goes to Mount Vernon, "I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow-citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government." That a Bonaparte might marry into the family of Washington and thus attain the presidency quivered as the great hope upon the lips of the Emperor; that the presidency might be above the reach of royal families labored the great American. In 1814, says Emerson, France said of Napoleon, "Enough of him;" in 1894, the dawning Americanism of England which first spoke in Burke, Chatham, Brougham, Erskine, flooding now the soul of Gladstone with a sweet daylight, points to noon tide, with the hope bound up in the spirit of Washington. Our own Holmes quotes the picture of the French poet, Barbier, making the France of Napoleon "a fiery courser, bestridden by a spurred rider, who drove her in a mad career over heaps of rocks and ruins," while in the

flame of a revolution Lamartine saw no more benefit gift in God's hands for France than a French Washington.

Washington's value to us lies in his Americanism. Napoleon died with the hope that his reign might be considered a dictatorship; Washington, with the hope that an American dictator was rendered impossible. One is the typical autocrat; the other the typical republican. There is a republicanism in duty, for every man it has its privilege and its cares. Napoleon had no duty but his glory, Washington had no glory but his duty. There is a republicanism in every honest, reverent effort to win success. Every man has that inspiration and opportunity. Napoleon's destiny was autocratic; the destiny of Washington is vouchsafed to every man. The genius of Napoleon is solitary and has a monarchy all its own; that of Washington seems only the large perfection of that which every man feels is in him. The influence of one is imperious, dazzling, dictatorial; that of the other genial, inspiring, pervasive. In the forefront of a nation's life, it is of deepest significance that there may stand one who shall invite into largest life the peculiar characteristics of the national spirit. There is the greatness which humiliates, and there is the greatness which inspires. Under the spell of Napoleon's influence there can be no self-government; every man must feel how weak he is. Under the benign influence of Washington, self-respect rises; there can be no tyranny; every man sees his own powers in the large power of his leader. The triumphs of Napoleon would have made that of his successor impossible. There was that in Washington which, though it had been defeated in him, would have been victorious in the next generation. To-day the loftiest with the lowliest, look up to him and cry, "My Father, my Father, the chariots of Israel and the Horsemen thereof."

THE END.

Union League Club
Chicago



Exercises in
Commemoration
of the
Birthday
of
Washington

February
twenty-second

1904







HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT



UNION LEAGUE CLUB

CHICAGO



Exercises in Commemoration

OF THE

Birthday of Washington

February twenty-second
Nineteen hundred and four



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MORNING EXERCISES

THE AUDITORIUM, HALF AFTER 10 O'CLOCK

THE AUDIENCE IS REQUESTED TO JOIN IN SINGING

MR. CLINTON B. EVANS, PRESIDING

ORGAN SELECTION

COLUMBIA, THE GEM OF THE OCEAN

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

MR. CLINTON B. EVANS

PATRIOTIC HYMN—COLUMBIA—HENRY K. HADLEY
HIGH SCHOOL CHORUS

ADDRESS

MRS. MARION FOSTER WASHBURNE

STAR SPANGLED BANNER

ADDRESS—TRUE AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

MR. CHARLES G. PARKS
OF LAKE VIEW HIGH SCHOOL

SONG—THE BOYS OF THE OLD BRIGADE—PARKS
HYDE PARK HIGH SCHOOL BOYS' GLEE CLUB

ADDRESS—WHAT MAKES A GREAT MAN?

DR. WILLIAM C. FROST

AMERICA

ORGAN POSTLUDE

MR. CLARENCE DICKINSON, ORGANIST

MR. H. W. FAIRBANK, MUSICAL DIRECTOR

MORNING EXERCISES

February 22, 1904.

The celebration of Washington's Birthday by the Union League Club was begun most auspiciously in the Auditorium at half past ten in the morning, by what was preëminently a young people's meeting. The High School Chorus, under the direction of Prof. H. W. Fairbank, occupied the stage, and the main floor and balcony were filled with school children and their older friends.

Promptly at 10:35 Professor Fairbank rapped on his desk and the chorus rose to sing "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," accompanied on the great organ by Mr. Clarence Dickinson.

At the close of the singing, the presiding officer addressed the meeting as follows:

Mr. Clinton B. Evans: It is the misfortune of this audience that Judge Cutting, whose name appears on the program as presiding officer to-day, is unable to act. He has taken cold and cannot speak above a whisper, and a whisper stands a mighty poor chance in this hall. It is therefore my duty, as second man on the committee, to make the few introductory remarks that are necessary, or perhaps are unnecessary. And I take this occasion to emphasize the motive which brings us here. We often hear it said that George Washington is overworked in these days; that the celebration of Washington's fame has become tiresome; that we have too much to say about him on the Fourth of July, the twenty-second of February, and on every other possible occasion. I do not agree to this. I consider it one of the most creditable features in the history of the Union League Club that persistently, year after year, that club keeps up this celebration, morning, noon and night. And you, pupils of the public schools, and you persons of older growth, how do you ever learn anything? You learn by observing others. You observe others in their own

persons or on the printed page as their acts and thoughts are there reported. You could not learn to talk if you did not hear somebody else talk. I won't undertake to say how the first person ever learned to talk. Perhaps some of the learned people in the rear part of the stage can tell that. Nor can you, if you are an artisan, make any progress in your trade unless you have an exemplar, a teacher. Those great men, the astronomers, the mathematicians, the scientific men, must have their teachers. They must have their Copernicus, their Newton and their exemplars in a thousand and one other lines. How, then, can we learn citizenship unless we have a model, and what better exemplar is there for an American than George Washington? It is at this point that Washington comes into the life of every individual in this country, and I beg of you, whether young or old, not to slight these occasions and not to forget the great benefit that will come to you in the study of such examples.

I am the more moved to call attention to these considerations because the study and the reading habits of the American people are subject to very serious criticism. We have novels and other light reading deluged upon us without number every year. We have, it is true, many good books among those that are laid before us, but we like to tickle our fancy with the glittering foam of the magazines, the ephemeral paragraphs of the newspapers, and anything that involves little work. But I think that every student of history will say that there is just as much entertainment in reading history as there is in reading novels, and a great deal more instruction. Can we not learn something from the brilliancy and fidelity of a Pericles, or the sturdy virtue of Cato, or the wonderfully complete character of Washington? It is true you must keep in touch with current events, but remember, the past and the present are one, and we cannot understand the present unless we know the past.

Why do we take for an example a man who has been dead a hundred years? The reason is obvious. We cannot measure a man's life, we cannot determine his relations to the rest of mankind accurately, until some years after his career is ended. And then there is one serious danger in praising too highly a man who is still living. We may glorify him to-day and he may do something to-morrow to spoil it all.

The speakers you are about to listen to will entertain you, but they will also instruct you, and let us not forget that we come here every year to be instructed and inspired. (Applause.)

The chorus than sang a patriotic hymn, composed by Henry K. Hadley, entitled "Columbia."

Following the singing of "Columbia" by the High School Chorus, President Evans said:

It is our good fortune to have with us, as a speaker, a lady belonging to a family long identified with educational interests, and in a very effective way, and the lady herself widely known as a writer and a speaker. I have the honor to introduce Mrs. Marion Foster Washburne. (Applause.)

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MRS. MARION FOSTER WASHBURN

Mrs. Marion Foster Washburne

As we gather here in this vast and beautiful building to do honor to a great thought and the great man who embodied it, our souls rise into a higher region than the region of everyday life. We have stepped aside from the hurry and clatter of the street and come into a lofty place, still in the midst of the roar of the city, to consider a lofty theme. Music is our fit welcome. These organ tones, solemn, rich, unassertive, conquer the hasty hammerings of our hearts and conform them to a grander, more harmonious measure. Music is the true speech of this day and this hour. Through it our highest wishes, our freest imaginings, find expression. Under its spell we see the heavenly potencies at work within ourselves, within our civilization, and are not ashamed.

Here, then, we find it easy to recognize that ideals shape nations. We recognize that ideals of the loftiest purity and dignity led and sustained our Washington through the dark and confusing times wherein our country was founded. Because he had a love for freedom and righteousness greater than any love of himself, he saw the clear light ahead, and, through whatever encompassing darkness, moved steadily toward it. At this distance he seems to us almost unhumanly calm, certain and right, never failing, never faltering, almost never complaining. As Fox, the great English orator, said of him, "The most perfect man, to be mere man, who ever lived." It is because his eye was single that his whole body was so full of light, of light that shines upon us to this day.

This is an excellence we may all share. Not all of us may be great soldiers, great statesmen, founders of a great nation, but we can all see as Washington saw, with single eye. We can all prove ourselves of his spiritual kindred. Our bodies, big or little, can shine as his shone, and fill the darkling sky of this earth with many lights.

It is the blessed privilege of youth to lie open and responsive to ideals. It is your blessed privilege, children of Chicago. You believe easily and with your whole hearts. You act upon your beliefs. Courage, life and hope rise sparkling and bubbling from your young hearts as from an ever-renewed fountain of immortality, to which the nations turn for their healing. Only as that which is ideal in you recognizes and completes the ideals for which Washington lived and died, do his ideals live. His earthly power is transferred from his body to yours. If you are his children you will do him honor by holding high above ridicule and scorn the noblest dreams you can dream, and whenever the moment comes, in work, or play, or mere listening, when your acts can help to make those dreams come true, you will act.

You have come to this time and place from every country of the old world. Some of you have crossed the dividing gulf in your own persons; others in the persons of your ancestors. None of you are Americans both by birth and by long descent. You are children of the old world, who have come here to make a new world out of that which was fairest in the old. From southern Europe, from the Latin countries, Spain, Italy, France, some of you come. From middle and northern Europe, from the Germanic and Scandinavian countries, others of you come. And you who have set your seal upon our national speech come from those mighty British Isles which now rule so great a portion of the globe. From these countries you bring various characteristics. You wear the features of your race. Its speech is gracious to your tongue. You carry its ideals in your hearts. These ideals, of which you may be half conscious, I beg of you to make conscious, that then you may lay them, new born, fresh and vigorous, at the service of this which has become at last your country.

Let us consider briefly what are the ideals inherent in your blood. They are not mere abstractions. They are forces that tend constantly to embody themselves. In each country there is a racial hero, half or quite mythical, who typifies in his own person the racial ideal. Most of you know the stories of these heroes, but I am going to remind you of them, urging you to recognize that they are your heroes, that it is in your power to make the old fairy tales come true, and that this new country,

whost past is your past, stands to-day in need of deliverance by these heroes.

You of the Latin race have many tales of splendid deeds, of splendid qualities. I should like to tell them all, to see your southern eyes flash in response. But time is limited and we must now consider only one—that one the Maid of France, Joan of Arc, the pure, impassioned, faithful child, with eye and ear turned toward heaven, and delicate body weighted with earthly armor. You all know how simple she was, and unselfish, wishing nothing for herself except that, by and by, when the cruel wars were over, she might be permitted to return to her mother's cottage, to be her mother's little maid again, spinning and sewing and cooking beside her. Even this innocent wish she was not granted, you know. Instead of going back to her mother she went by way of fierce flames to heaven. Can you see her, only sixteen years old, listening in the woods about Domremy, on the hillsides, among the meadow grasses, to the voices that called her to the service of her country? She wept, they say, as she listened, because she loved not war and suffering. She knew herself ignorant and weak and very young; she wished to hide yet in her mother's safe arms, to play with the other children, not to go forth to battle, to courts, to strangers, to scorn and hatred. But her voices called and called. She listened and obeyed. Without counting herself as anything but an instrument, she went forth and saved France.

It may be that just this call may never come to any of you who listen to-day. Yet some call will surely come. And when the Divine Voices speak to your listening souls, see that you obey them as simply, as instantly, as Joan obeyed. Also that you wait the appointed hour as patiently as she awaited it. Also that you seek not your own glory, as she sought not hers. Children of the South, with dark eyes full of fire and of love, with quick, springing impulses, with faith that comes as easy as breath, lend us of this colder country your inspiration, your zeal, your implicit obedience. Lay these gifts at the feet of Washington, and on the altar of his country and of yours.

You whose parents brought you here from Germany and Scandinavia, from the Rhineland and the Norseland, come covered by the shield of Siegfried. A stainless knight and king's

son was he, who in himself carried the wonder-working powers of his national dream. He worked not for himself, but for others. When he slew the dragon Fafnir, he who for ages coiled around the treasure on the Glittering Heath, guarding it with his scaly and terrible body, keeping all the gold for himself, grudging all others the use of it, when he slew Fafnir, do you remember what sword Siegfried used? It was the sword he had forged himself, working day and night for three times seven days and nights, only in the last part of his lonely toil helped by Odin, the All-father. With this sword he slew Fafnir, and, having slain him, took not his treasure, lest it prove too great a curse and temptation, but left it untouched, lying there on the Glittering Heath. If you, blue-eyed children of the North, are to slay dragons and deliver this country from the curse of the love of gold, see that you forge your swords yourselves, patiently, skillfully, slowly; ask the All-father's aid, and when the dragon is slain leave his wealth there on the battlefield, lest in turn it curse you.

Siegfried had, you know, a magic cap, the Tarn-Kappe, which made him invisible and gave him the strength of twelve men. When his friend, Gunther, was trying to win the favor of Brunhild, the daughter of the gods, the fairest maid on earth, Siegfried, in his cap of invisibility, stood beside Gunther and did the work for him. When Gunther lifted the heavy spear, it was Siegfried who really hurled it, though Gunther moved his arm and made all the people think that he did it himself. Now, when you struggle to win a beautiful cause, a cause straight from the home of the gods, Siegfried, if you are his friend, and believe in him and call upon him, will come to your aid, wearing his Tarn-Kappe. Invisible, he will do your work for you—but remember this: You must make the motions. Ideals alone, even in the form of Siegfried, will not win any cause. You must move your own powers, and then hidden forces will add their strength to yours.

As noble as Siegfried is the Anglo-Saxon hero, King Arthur. Modest he was. Though a king's son, he did not know his father nor mother. Nor did he force himself upon the people to urge that he be recognized as their king. It was by accident, while he was hurrying to get a sword for his adopted brother, that he came upon the sword stuck in the rock and pulled it out

easily. He took it straight to his brother, little dreaming that he carried the symbol proclaiming him king of England. For none other, you remember, might be king save only he who would pluck the sword from the rock. Even after that miracle he was modest and patient, nor did he assert himself, but waited till all the barons, of their free will, owned him king. A just and gentle king he was, ruling wisely and generously; stern to rebuke Sir Malin's courtesy when that Sir Malin took vengeance of the Lady of the Lake in the presence of the king; equally quick to forgive him when he proved himself worthy of forgiveness. He was brave, adventuring his body like any common knight. He was chivalrous and wise, but, greatest of all, he was just.

Who that is of the English-speaking peoples can forget that time when Queen Guinevere was falsely accused of poisoning the fruit at a great feast that she made? Surely King Arthur loved his queen, if ever knight loved lady, yet he yielded her to the law and custom of the time. He spoke his mind as a man, declaring her not guilty, but as a king he sat in the lists, moderator and judge, while she whom he loved was bound to the stake and the fagots leaped up about her feet. He sat and gave just judgment, while his heart bled, and Sir Launcelot offered his goodly body in the queen's defense. She was saved then, thanks to Launcelot; but King Arthur had saved more than the queen; he had saved justice and impartial law for his people. A noble offering this, that the Anglo-Saxon race, of whose race is Washington, lays on the altar of his country—the love of justice.

This, our common country, is a young country as yet—as young as you are. Its ideals, like yours, are only half conscious, yet are they bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh, its inheritance from the ages that have given it birth. To you is given the task of making these old ideals live in very present action. And this is what you love. Because you are young you scorn delay and bid us slower, heavier-burdened elders to be quick and transform the world. And that is well. We need pushing. We need encouraging. We need your eager hope and faith. Even the mistakes you make we can endure for the sake of the energy and wisdom your young activity sets free. We ask you only, in return for the freedom and consideration we grant you, to move reverently, in the might of a power not your own, about this great task

which was George Washington's, and is yours—the formation of a nation so just, so chivalrous, so full of holy zeal, so ready in its response to high impulse, so strong and fearless in the defense of the right, that it shall move among the nations like a mighty angel, setting this world in order for the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. (Applause.)

At the conclusion of Mrs. Washburne's address the audience rose and joined the chorus in singing "The Star Spangled Banner."

The next number on the program was an address by one of the members of the Lake View High School, Mr. Charles G. Parks, who was introduced by Mr. Evans as follows:

Mr. Evans: A feature entirely new has been introduced in these exercises this year, and I think you will all agree that it is a most excellent feature. We have, as a representative of the schools, a young man who truly represents them, because he is in one of the schools. I take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Charles G. Parks of the Lake View High School.

Mr. Parks, who was greeted with prolonged applause, then delivered the following address:





MR CHARLES G. PARKS

Mr. Charles G. Parks

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: America's position in world politics to-day is most exalted, and attended by the gravest of responsibilities. From a dependency of Great Britain these United States have organized and developed into a world power. Europe, against whose oppression our colonial forefathers fought, is fast awakening to our growing and now positive strength, and the necessity of recognizing our leadership among nations. Bountifully gifted of nature, American food, textile and mineral products control the world's market. Upon them the great nations of Europe and of the world are so dependent that the balance of power in world politics to-day is fast being transferred from England westward. Thus, economically and commercially, have we grown into a world factor. But, as has ever been the case, commercial must be protected by military supremacy. In the recent Spanish-American war the United States forcibly demonstrated the virility and strength of a young republic as opposed to the decay and corruption of an old world monarchy. We have so impressed upon the world the fact of our justice and power when in the right that our flag is everywhere a sure guarantee of protection and respect.

But American internal conditions must be consistent with this international supremacy. A feeble and tottering national government must eventually ensue upon internal weakness and corruption. America is to-day enjoying an unprecedented prosperity, but it is in time of prosperity that the guidance of a pure and disinterested statesmanship is most essential to national permanency, and that statesmanship must be developed from a pure, honest and intelligent citizenship. It is of this ideal or true American citizenship that I would speak this morning.

Citizenship comprises two distinct and balancing relations—the relation of the state to the citizen, or the *rights* of the citizen,

and the relation of the citizen to the state, or the *duties* of the citizen. In 1776 the Declaration of Independence set forward the belief that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. With citizenship, therefore, is given the guarantee of justice, the right to a fair jury trial, the right of petition. "We will sell to no man, we will deny to no man justice or right." Citizenship everywhere means protection for life and property, whether at home or within the jurisdiction of a foreign government. But in that same Declaration of Independence all men are declared equal before the law in rights, privileges and legal capacities. Equality is the citizen's second right, and equality and freedom are his dearest heritages. Freedom of speech and of worship is the citizen's second right and reserves for him total religious and political liberty. Political liberty or freedom means participation in the making of the laws, and this is included under his fourth right, the right of self-government, the right to vote and to hold office, the assurance of a protection for his individual rights. In return for these rights and privileges the citizen owes to the state certain duties whose performance is the requirement of patriotism. The citizen's obligations toward the state are threefold, and their fulfillment is identical with the exercise of a disinterested patriotism. His first service to the state is military and political, in the holding of office, and in the conscientious performance of official duty. His second duty may be briefly stated as a respect for law and authority, based upon the knowledge that liberty to make the laws does not include license to break them. Besides this obedience to law, it includes an ungrudging payment of taxes. His third duty is the responsibility of keeping the laws, politics and government pure, unsullied and democratic. Through the exercise of an honest vote it means the purging of our politics of bribery and corruption, the maintenance of a national self-respect, and the preservation of the purity of American institutions. (Applause.)

These are the rights and duties, briefly stated, of true American citizenship. It but remains to examine its scope and influence. A nation is judged by the character of her citizens. The stamp of her citizenship is the index to a country's real prosperity and true greatness. If American citizenship be nar-

row-minded, short-sighted and sordid, so will be our national politics. American strength lies in the unselfish patriotism which springs from an enlightened citizenship. American permanency must have as its basis an honest, an intelligent and a Christian citizenship. If ever a nation needed the influence of such a pure and true citizenship, America needs it to-day. None but the most ignorant deny the presence in American politics and life of certain belittling and corrupting influences which the cultivation and development of this ideal citizenship alone can eliminate. Our nation is endangered by manifold perils. Before the corruption and baseness of our politics representative government is indeed in peril. Municipal and state politics have become a profession. Officeholding has lost its noble motive and has become a matter of dollars and cents. We pride ourselves on our American citizenship. We thank God for the freedom that citizenship affords. We hold in reverence the names of those who drew that declaration and that constitution which guarantees to us all, regardless of color, equality, self-rule, self-government. But are we alive to that trust which is our dearest heritage from those who gave their lives that we might be blessed with liberty and freed from the tyranny of wrong and oppression? Are we alive to that responsibility when we allow bribery to direct and control our legislation? When votes are bought and sold, elections turned; when men buy their way into our city councils; when the greed for money has been the lodestone which has drawn our reputable citizens under its potent influence; when under this passion for money men of high repute have abused the trust of their citizenship and have debased and corrupted our municipal politics until our city halls are too often but the dens of thieves—then, indeed, I say that an honest and intelligent vote is an absolute necessity. Why the present agitation toward direct senatorial elections, may I ask, but to eliminate the bribery and corruption now prevalent among our state legislators? You have all heard of the recent postoffice scandal. You have heard, too, of the selling of franchises and traction grants, of the offering and accepting of wholesale bribery. God grant that the noble work of some of our municipal voters' leagues may be attended with their merited success, and that, if necessary, the organiza-

tion of state voters' leagues may purge our state and national politics of taint and dishonor.

For the stability and endurance of this American republic we must have purity, integrity and righteousness in our social, political and civic matters. We must remember, with President Roosevelt, that "no prosperity and no glory can save a nation that is rotten at heart." But there are many other fields where this honest and intelligent citizenship may exert its influence. In the numerous struggles between labor and capital the rights of the American people have been grossly abused. The suffering attendant upon the great Pennsylvania coal strike was only alleviated by the wisdom and arbitration of an active statesmanship. The recent railway, cab drivers' and teamsters' strikes in Chicago could have been averted by a citizenship both of proper intelligence and fair-mindedness among employer and employe. As it was, the public had to suffer. Between the Scylla and Charybdis of trade unionism and monopoly, the American people must have the guidance and protection of an unselfish, public-spirited and incorruptible legislation, and that legislation must have as its fountainhead an irreproachable citizenship.

The negro problem, in all its complexity, also demands our attention. The question, briefly summed up, is as follows: The North freed the negro and gave him the ballot; the South has in many cases abridged his right to vote; that he is at present socially inferior to the white man, and intellectually unfit to vote, seems to be generally admitted, but whether he should be disenfranchised, until so qualified, is still an unsolved problem. I do not presume to dictate a policy to our national government. Too many remedies have been suggested. I but offer this negro problem as another field for the exercise of true American citizenship. (Applause.)

Still another field is to be found in the outbreaks of anarchistic tendencies. Recent evidences of lynch law and mob violence suggest an inhuman and barbarous disregard for law and order, which can never accompany an ideal citizenship. True American citizenship, if it means anything, means respect for law and order. (Applause.)

Such is the nature and scope of true American citizenship. To-day we assemble in celebration of the noble works of one who

is our ideal American citizen. Of his character and works much has been said. Suffice it for me only to call to your attention, aside from his admirable qualities as a warrior and as a statesman, his superb citizenship. Loved by his army, cherished as a statesman, he is adored and idealized as a citizen. First in war and first in peace, the spirit of Washington lives to-day. In setting him before the youth of Chicago as an example and an ideal the Union League Club is performing a noble work, in instilling love of country, in encouraging loyalty and in the establishment and promotion of a better citizenship. (Applause.)

The clouds of war still threaten the world, but the day is close at hand when peaceful arbitration will brush them aside and everywhere supplant barbaric warfare in the settlement of national disputes. The day is at hand when ours will be a perfected American citizenship, when the continuance of so unselfish and humanitarian a policy as was shown in liberating Cuba will retain for us a perpetual supremacy among nations. With all our latent resources for war, we should be the greatest peace power of the world. True American citizenship is the symbol of civilization and progress, humanity and peace. The policy of true Americanism is a policy of peace. Our highest glory is not in battles won, but in war prevented. Let our citizenship be so broad-minded and reasonable, so unselfish and so upright; let our policy be so fair, so impartial, so conciliatory, that other nations will instinctively turn to us as a mutual friend and a natural adjuster of their differences. Then, indeed, will we have fulfilled America's true mission, the preservation of the world's peace. I thank you. (Prolonged cheering and applause.)

The Hyde Park High School Boys' Glee Club then sang "The Boys of the Old Brigade," which evoked enthusiastic applause, and after they had responded to three encores, among others being "My Kentucky Belle," the next speaker, Dr. William G. Frost, was introduced by Mr. Evans, who said:

The gentleman who is about to address you is from the state of Kentucky. The fact that this was a Kentucky song is a pure coincidence and has nothing to do with the matter. (Laughter.)

We all used to hear of the border states and of Mason and Dixon's line. We don't know anything about any border states now, and we care nothing about Mason and Dixon's line. The gentleman I present is at the head of Berea College in Kentucky, which knows no difference in race and wants to get the whole human family ahead as fast as possible. I have the honor of introducing to you Dr. William Goodell Frost, president of Berea College, Kentucky. (Applause.)





DR. WILLIAM G. FROST

Dr. William Goodell Frost

Mr. Chairman: It has long ago been decided that every American child is from birth a citizen of the republic. It will, therefore, be permissible for me to address my auditors to-day, from the youngest to the oldest, as fellow citizens. (Applause.)

My fellow citizens: We are here to-day for a lesson in patriotism to be drawn from a study of George Washington. That is a very familiar name. Probably there are more men in this room who bear the name of George than there are who bear any other one name. If these Georges were not all named after George Washington, they were named after relatives in the past, and those relatives were named after the great first president of the United States. It would be hard to find a boy named after George, king of England. (Laughter and applause.) Every city has its Washington street and every statehouse its Washington portrait. And, far across the sea, among the working people of England, and the gentry of the continent, where they perhaps know very little about America, they know of him. They know of Niagara Falls and New York and Chicago, and when they come to speak of our people, in the streets of London, or Alexandria or Calcutta, they pronounce two names, Washington and Lincoln. (Applause.) And it is a fine thing for our country to be known throughout the world by those two names.

We all know the life of Washington, but it is good to think it over. To begin with, he was a splendid boy—he was an athlete who could run, and leap and manage a horse, and throw a stone across the Potomac River. He was fond of outdoor sport, and he always played fair.

And he was an example as a student. There were no high schools in old Virginia, and his teachers were few and poor. But he studied by himself, and at sixteen, he could compute the area

of a tract of forest land. He has mastered his fractions and decimals, and his drawing and his scientific instruments, and he was a surveyor. We find him in the mountains, sleeping on the floor by the woodman's fire, and he did this not because he was poor and compelled to work, but because, like one of his great successors, he believed in the "strenuous life." He loved to be active, and to be active in useful things. And he was a boy who could keep accounts and transact business. At nineteen, when his guardian died, he was left to administer three large estates. This shows that he was not wasting his time or his money, and that those who knew him best trusted him as honest and capable.

And then came public trusts and commissions. At twenty-one he was sent hundreds of miles to carry that message to the French commander. They needed a messenger who could make his way among solitudes and savages and be a gentleman and diplomatist when he at last reached the French fort. At twenty-three he was entrusted with the command of all the forces of Virginia. When you think of Washington, remember how wise and able, how capable of large things, a man may be at only twenty-three.

But we are not celebrating his birthday simply because he was distinguished at twenty-three. What is it in Washington which makes the world pause to keep his anniversary? What is it that makes a truly great man? Let us learn how to estimate greatness, how to appraise the various public men whose names we hear. A man may be notorious without being great. Some traitors and murderers have been notorious. A man may be powerful, like Napoleon, and yet men do not keep his birthday. Let us trace and find wherein true greatness lies.

His public career began with the Revolutionary War, and ended with our wonderful constitution fully established in the customs and hearts of our peoples. In that war he espoused the weaker side, and to be commander-in-chief took more than courage. It took patience, sagacity, endurance, faith. Do you know what faith is? Through the long winter marches, through the disloyalty of friends who tried to depose him from command, through defeat and disaster (for he lost more battles than he won), Washington still saw in his mind's eye the surrender of the British and the future greatness of our land. That was faith.

He saw with his inner eye the victory of right, he believed in it and he held on. That was greatness. (Applause.)

But the making of our constitution was probably more important than his service in war. When the war closed Washington refused any reward, and simply began a new task. He wrote to the governors of the states, and to his old soldiers and officers, about improving the government. It was of little value to be free unless we could be wise enough to govern ourselves well. Washington studied history to find out what kinds of government have proved the best, and he consulted the wisest men. Really he was undertaking another war, for there was opposition, jealousy, misrepresentation. Washington never tried to be popular, he tried to be just, and he was ready to oppose the people when they were wrong. We were not then a nation as we are to-day, and we had not learned to work together. The little states were afraid of the big ones, and the men of the coast were strangers to the men of the frontier. Each man was tempted to seek some advantage for himself and his own state. But Washington and a few others stood for the good of the whole. He never sought to benefit Virginia by wronging any other state. We know what Washington and his friends were trying to do, for they have told us in what we call the preamble to the constitution. How many of us can repeat those noble words?

(The children from the various high schools then repeated with the speaker the preamble of the constitution of the United States:)

“We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution of the United States of America.” (Applause.)

And they succeeded. The constitution was adopted, and for more than one hundred years it has been establishing justice and securing the blessings of liberty to our people. Washington was the first president. And, notice this, it was not his election which made him great—he was great already. Men can be elected to high offices, and that will not make them great. As president, Washington got the new constitution into working order. We

all know that America is a good land to live in and a good land to come to. This is not because of our soil, our mines, our natural resources, as we call them—it is because of the superiority of American institutions.

What do we mean by our institutions? We mean the ways of managing the government, as fixed in the constitution. You study the constitution in school and it is a hard study, but it is an interesting study and a profitable study. The constitution gives us the right of free speech and free discussion—we shall hear all sides of every question and so find out what is best. The constitution gives us a congress to make laws, a court to interpret the laws and a president to enforce the laws. Lincoln defined the American idea when he said it was a government of the people, by the people and for the people. (Applause.)

And there were some things which Washington could not get into the constitution because the delegates from Georgia and the South prevented, but which he did put into the ordinance of 1787 for the Northwest Territory. And after many years, and after the bloody Civil War, Lincoln completed Washington's work, and put into the constitution itself what Washington was only able to get into the ordinance for the Northwest. "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction." That is the thirteenth amendment. And beside it stands the fourteenth amendment, which guarantees to every citizen, rich or poor, of whatever race or rank, "the equal protection of the laws."

And these American ideas are not yet everywhere fully realized. There are southern states and northern cities where we do not yet have in all respects a government by the people and for the people. But Washington gave us the pattern toward which we are started and to which we shall at last fight our way. (Applause.)

Such were, in part, the services of Washington. And it cost him dearly to render those services. Look at his calm face in the portrait and it seems as though that man must always have dwelt in untroubled peace. Does he not look as though he had been always perfectly comfortable and happy and successful?

But it was not so.. That face crossed the Delaware, that face rebuked Benedict Arnold. Through all his public life his private properties and estates were neglected. He met with ingratitude and abuse almost beyond endurance. Men vilified him as they vilify good men to-day, and as they perhaps always will. Some even mocked his august title, and called him "the stepfather of his country." So we meet to-day with gratitude in our hearts. Washington worked for posterity and we are posterity. (Applause.)

Washington reminds us of Pericles' definition of a statesman, "A man who understands the situation, can explain it to others, and is superior to bribes." Washington had seen and reflected until he knew what the colonies needed. He was able to explain the matter to others so they would work with him. And then came the final test—no bribe, no abuse, no suffering, no threat could turn him back.

And now can we answer the question, "What made Washington great?" Four things: His character, his ability, his sacrifices and his services to his country. And of these the last two are the greatest.

Now, my young fellow citizens, these are God's tests and marks of greatness. No high office, no vast power or wealth, no popularity or praise, no imposing monument, can make a man great. No man will ever be remembered with affection except one who had performed great services and undergone great sacrifices for his fellow men. And these, too, let us notice, are qualities for all to imitate. It is God's plan that great men should have qualities which men and women in all circumstances can follow and copy after.

Washington has not only given us these American institutions, but he has given us the inspiration of his example and his spirit. We cannot be his equals, but we can be his followers. We cannot do or suffer for our country as much as he, but we can all do and suffer. There are Washingtons needed in every ward and in every street. We must all try to come up to Pericles' definition of a statesman. Let us study public questions and inquire how our ward, our city, our state can be improved. Let us understand the situation, as Pericles says. And then let us explain it to others. Be a person of influence. Tell your

neighbor what improvements are needed, stir him up as a helper. And, finally, let us be superior to bribes. Our vote, our influence, shall never be for sale. No threat and no promise of gain to ourselves shall lead us to favor or consent to what is wrong. We will all march in Washington's army, and carry on his battle for the welfare of the whole land. (Applause.)

The audience then joined the chorus in singing "America," which concluded the morning exercises.

AFTERNOON EXERCISES

THE AUDITORIUM, AT THREE O'CLOCK

PROGRAM

ORGAN SELECTION

INVOCATION

INTRODUCTION

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

ORATION

"THE ETHICS OF THE PANAMA QUESTION"

HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT

AMERICA

THE AUDIENCE IS REQUESTED TO JOIN IN SINGING

MR. HERBERT L. WATEROUS, PRECENTOR

MR. CLARENCE DICKINSON, ORGANIST

AFTERNOON EXERCISES

An audience which filled every seat in the Auditorium greeted President Wallace Heckman at 3 o'clock, when he opened the afternoon meeting by introducing the orator of the day, Hon. Elihu Root. Mr. Heckman said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: In this observance—to which, on behalf of the Union League Club, it is my privilege to welcome you—we joyfully recall and affectionately cherish the name and character of Washington. The large and loyal praise, so amply paid in brilliant speech, in thrilling song, is the just meed of those great patriots, and the perpetual inspiration of free men. Not because their labors fashioned constitutions, by which just government is guaranteed, are they recalled and venerated. They urged in forceful language and accentuated by their vigilant activities that men and women of each age and time are building, and must build, their institutions and their laws. The fundamental charters are the vital public conscience and opinion, which examines, modifies if necessary, executes and yields obedience. Without these the solemn written instruments become scraps of history, mere curious relics of what was, and is not.

In the pursuit of wholesome, hopeful, forward-looking civic life is found the reason for this club's existence. The patriotic loyalty for which it stands challenges each applicant for membership. Acknowledging all just allegiance to parties, recognizing their potentiality as instruments for public service, it holds its independence to discern and bear in mind the final object is not party, but the public, welfare.

In some communities elsewhere, traditions of great families dispose safe men to all the lines of public service, and the labor and the sacrifices they involve. In this country such traditions do not exist. This is democracy on its broadest base. All vote. All are eligible to office. Individual initiative, associated, organ-

ized, informed, is here depended on to voice the public conscience and to defend the general right.

Those engaged in the pursuit of purely selfish aims, heedless of the general welfare, seem sometimes a menace. Two great presidents, representing both great parties, each approved by re-election, each experienced by double terms, have solemnly declared evasions of the public burdens and violations of the laws by wealthy individuals and corporations to be threatening evils, and, on the other hand, men in associations unincorporated, "to better their condition," so alleged, assail the lives of fellow laborers, maim and deny to them the right freely to labor. Our people have been patient with them both. The wholly selfish among the holders of the shares of capital, the wholly selfish among the wearers of the button of labor, are a minority of each, and both together a minority almost negligible. Our pre-occupied and prosperous millions of conservative, earnest men are a safe and solemn jury; if violence and anarchy shall again imprudently claim their attention they will, as the men of our city did and would again, with a justice the more terrible because deliberate and certain, manacle and outlaw and extinguish them. On the briber and the secret private barterer of sacred public rights, the whispering procurer of immunity from public burdens and from penalties for public wrongs, the civic leper in a government like ours, their eyes are fastened in abhorrence, and the day of condemnation is at hand. Traverse this amazing country. Mark the high gauge of the integrity which makes each home a national stronghold. Grasp the palm of its stalwart, average manhood. Look into the eye of the informed intelligence, the product of the public schools. Happily, it yet prevails, and hopefully we prophesy it will continue to prevail; our great majority, including workers and the men of wealth, can be relied upon for patriotic loyalty; can be relied on, in the crises of the future, as our past has demonstrated, steadfastly to support safe men and sound opinions, maintaining in the teeth of prejudice and in the face of temporary selfish interests the venerated fundamental guarantees of property, of contract and of personal protection under which our land reposes in her prosperous security.

The problems of each period call on the honest, practical,

the representative, American for solution, by the moral standards and decisiveness which he demands and exercises in his own business, not by sinister or secret concessions, not by the temporizings of political expedience, but by open, adequate discussion, settled with deliberate and final justice. Fortunately, each period produces not the problems only, but the men to solve them. Freshly we remember and refreshingly recall to-day the grave and wholly new responsibilities placed suddenly, not long ago, on the then new incumbent at the head of one of the departments of the government at Washington. A responsibility responded to in such fashion that the military orders for the territories of the Philippines became their Magna Charta, enacted later as the most appropriate civil laws, the nearest practicable approach to independent local government and in addition to the vigorous discharge of the exacting current duties of that great department, casting off its antiquated army system and investing it with one rejuvenatingly efficient. (Applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen: On another question newly evolved by passing events, of present interest and deep concern, I have the honor to present a name familiar and inspiring, a representative American, the Honorable Elihu Root. (Applause.)

Hon. Elihu Root

On the 3d of November, 1903, the people of Panama revolted against the Government of Columbia, and proclaimed their independence. On the 13th of November the United States recognized the independence of the Republic of Panama, by receiving a Minister from the new Government, and at the opening of the regular session of Congress in December, the President asked the consent of the Senate to a treaty negotiated between our Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, and the Minister of Panama, Mr. Varilla, providing for the construction by the United States of a ship canal across the Isthmus, to be kept by us open, neutral and free upon equal terms for the use of all mankind. After long and exhaustive discussion that treaty is about to be confirmed. In the meantime, the Senate by a great majority has approved the recognition of independence by confirming the nomination of William I. Buchanan as Minister from the United States to Panama. The revolutionary leaders have submitted their action to the people of Panama, who have, by a popular vote, given it their unanimous approval, and have elected a constitutional convention, framed and adopted a constitution, chosen a president and congress, and established a republican government according to the forms which find their model in the constitutions of our own Country. In the meantime, also, many other governments have followed the United States in receiving the new republic into the family of Nations. On the 18th of November, five days after our recognition, France recognized the Republic of Panama; on the 22nd, China; on the 27th, Austria; on the 30th, Germany; and following them Denmark, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Belgium, Nicaragua, Peru, Cuba, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Costa Rica, Japan, Guatemala, Netherlands, Venezuela, Portugal, in the order named.

The independence of Panama, the grant to the United States of the right to construct the canal across the Isthmus, and the

assumption by the United States of the duty to construct the canal and to maintain it for the equal benefit of mankind, are accomplished facts. Nothing can do away with them, unless it be some future war of conquest waged against the liberties of Panama, and at the same time against the rights of the United States held in trust for the commerce of the world.

The conduct of the United States Government in recognizing the independence of Panama, in making the treaty, and in exercising police power over territory traversed by the Panama Railroad and the partly constructed canal, during the period of revolution, has been severely criticized by some of our own citizens, who have said, in substance, that in this business our Government has violated the rules of International Law, has been grasping and unfair, and has, by the exercise of brute force, trampled down the rights of the weaker nation, in violation of those principles of justice which should control the conduct of Nations as of men.

In considering these charges, we may well thrust aside, as carrying no weight of authority, the expressions of those who, while they condemn the conduct of our Government, are in favor of the treaty. They curiously reverse the Divine rule, and seem to hate the sinner while they love the sin; and their adverse criticism may fairly be ascribed to the exigencies of the pending presidential campaign. Some of them may be sincere, but upon that question they naturally invite the comment made upon Lady Macbeth, that "she might be a lady, but she did not show it by her conduct."

We need not pay very much heed, either, to that class of temperamental and perennial faultfinders whom we have and always will have with us, as an incident of free institutions, who are against every government of which they do not personally form a part, and in whose eyes everything done by others is wrong. This class of our citizens, with slight changes in personnel, would have condemned any course of conduct by our Government, whatever it was, and their condemnation of the particular course followed merely announces their existence.

Nevertheless, there remain good and sincere men and women who have thought our course to be wrong, and many others, whose character and patriotism entitle them to the highest respect, are troubled in spirit. They would be glad to be sure that our

Country is not justly chargeable with dishonorable conduct. May the time never come when such men and women are wanting, or are constrained to remain silent, in America! May the time never come when the conscience of America shall cease to apply the rules of upright conduct to national, as well as to personal, life! When our governments feel absolved from the obligation to answer in that forum for conformity to the rules of right, or when material advantage shall be held to excuse injustice! For, if such a time ever does come, the beginning of the end of our free institutions will have come also.

I wish to present some of the fundamental facts bearing upon the question of right in the Panama business, although they have been stated already better than I can state them, with the hope that they may thus reach the attention of some of the good and sincere citizens who are troubled about the matter.

I am not going to discuss technical rules or precedents or questions whether what was done should have been done a little earlier or a little later, but the broad question whether the thing we have done was just and fair.

It frequently happens in affairs of Government that most important rights are created, modified, or practically destroyed by gradual processes, and by the indirect effect of events; and that only an intimate knowledge of the process enables one to realize the change until some practical question arises which requires everyone interested to study the subject. If the typical New Zealander, ignorant of our political history, were to read our Constitution and Laws, he would suppose that a presidential elector in the United States is entitled to exercise freedom of choice in his vote for president, and he would be quite certain that we were guilty of gross injustice in the treatment which we should certainly accord to an elector who voted for anyone but the candidate of his own party. In forming this judgment, he would be misled by the form and appearance of things which he found upon the statute book, and would misjudge a people who were acting in accordance with the substance and reality of things as they knew them to be. In the same way, they are in error who assume that the relations of Colombia to the other nations of the earth as regards the Isthmus of Panama were, in truth, of unqualified sovereignty and right of domestic control according to her own will, governed and protected by the rules

of international law, which describes the attributes of complete sovereignty; that the relations of Colombia to the people of Panama were, in truth, those appearing in the written instrument called the Constitution of Colombia; or that the rights and duties of the United States in regard to the Isthmus were confined to the simple duty of aiding Colombia to maintain her control over the Isthmus, and the simple right to ask from Colombia privileges which that country was entitled to grant or withhold at her own pleasure.

The stupendous fact that has dominated the history and must control the future of the Isthmus of Panama is the possibility of communication between the two oceans. It is possible for human hands to pierce the narrow forty miles of solid earth which separate the Caribbean from the Bay of Panama, to realize the dreams of the early navigators, to make the pathway to the Orient they vainly sought, to relieve commerce from the toils and perils of its nine thousand miles of navigation around Cape Horn through stormy seas and along dangerous coasts with its constant burden of wasted effort and shipwreck and loss of life, and to push forward by a mighty impulse that intercommunication between the distant nations of the earth which is doing away with misunderstanding, with race prejudice and bigotry, with ignorance of human rights and opportunity for oppression, and making all the world kin.

Throughout the centuries since Philip II sat upon the throne of Spain, merchants and statesmen and humanitarians and the intelligent masses of the civilized world have looked forward to this consummation with just anticipations of benefit to mankind. No savage tribes who happened to dwell upon the Isthmus would have been permitted to bar this pathway of civilization. By the universal practice and consent of mankind, they would have been swept aside without hesitation. No Spanish sovereign could, by discovery or conquest, or occupation, preempt for himself the exclusive use of this little spot upon the surface of the earth dedicated by nature to the use of all mankind. No civil society organized upon the ruins of Spanish dominion could justly arrogate to itself over this tract of land sovereignty unqualified by the world's easement and all the rights necessary to make that easement effective. The formal rules of international law

are but declarations of what is just and right in the generality of cases. But where the application of such a general rule would impair the just rights or imperil the existence of neighboring states or would unduly threaten the peace of a continent or would injuriously affect the the general interests of mankind, it has always been the practice of civilized nations to deny the application of the formal rule and compel conformity to the principles of justice upon which all rules depend. The Danubian principalities and Greece and Crete, and Egypt, the passage of the Dardanelles, and the neutralization of the Black Sea are familiar examples of limitations in derogation of those general rules of international law which describe the sovereignty of nations.

The Monroe Doctrine itself upon which we stand so firmly is an assertion of our right for our own interest to interfere with the action of every other nation in those parts of this hemisphere where others are sovereign and where we have no sovereignty or claim of sovereignty, and to say if you do thus and so, even by the consent of the sovereign, we shall regard it as an unfriendly act because it will affect us injuriously. It is said that the Monroe Doctrine is not a rule of international law. It is not a rule at all. It is an assertion of a right under the universal rule that all sovereignty is held subject to limitations in its exercise arising from just interests of other nations.

By the rules of right and justice universally recognized among men and which are the law of nations, the sovereignty of Colombia over the Isthmus of Panama was qualified and limited by the right of the other civilized nations of the earth to have the canal constructed across the Isthmus and to have it maintained for their free and unobstructed passage.

Colombia and her predecessor, New Granada, have not failed at times to recognize their position. In 1846, New Granada, through her Secretary of Foreign Relations, Mr. Mallarino, applied to the Government of the United States to enter into a treaty which should protect that country against the seizure of the Isthmus by other foreign powers. In effect, she acknowledged the right of way and asked the United States to become the trustee of that right which qualified her sovereignty, to maintain it for the equal benefit of all nations and at the same time protect her against its exercise by them in such a manner

as to destroy her sovereignty altogether. After describing acts which he conceived to be undue encroachments by Great Britain in South America, Mallarino said:

"And if the Usurpation of the Isthmus in its channelizable portion should be added to these encroachments, the empire of American commerce in its strictly useful or mercantile sense would fall into the hands of the only nation that the United States can consider as a badly disposed rival. It would be perfectly superfluous to mention the political consequences that would be entailed upon America. This dominion or ascendancy would be equally ruinous to the commerce of the United States and to the nationality of the Spanish American Republics, most direful for the causes of democracy in the new World, and a constant cause of disturbance of the public peace in this, our Continent.

"From these facts and general considerations may be inferred the urgent necessity in which the United States are of interposing their moral influence and even their material strength between the weakness of the new Republics and the ambitious views of the commercial nations of Europe. * * * This end is simply and naturally to be obtained by stipulating in favor of the United States a total repeal of the differential duties as a compensation for the obligation they imposed upon themselves of guaranteeing the legitimate and complete or integral possession of those portions of territory that the universal mercantile interests require to be free and open to all nations. * * * When a treaty containing such a stipulation shall exist between New Granada and the United States, and it could be completed and perfected by a subsequent and supplementary convention, in which the transit of the inter-oceanic passage should be arranged and its permanent neutrality confirmed, half the plans of Great Britain would of themselves fail and it would no longer be possible for her to encroach upon the Isthmus."

He said he assumed that the United States would in the proposed treaty

"guarantee to New Granada the Isthmus or at least as much of it as was required for the construction of a canal or railroad upon the most favorable route; and, moreover, that it was important that this guarantee should appear in the treaty as a condition for the right of way and the abolition of the discriminating differential duties, otherwise New Granada would be obliged to grant the same privileges unconditionally to England."

And he appealed to the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, reiterated by President Polk to the Congress of 1845-6, as the basis of his request.

Upon this appeal, the treaty of December 12th, 1846, between the United States and New Granada was made and signed in behalf of Colombia by the Secretary Mallarino, whose words I have quoted. The 35th article of the treaty contained the following provision:

"The Government of New Granada guarantees to the Government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any modes of communication that now exist, or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States. * * * And, in order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and as an especial compensation for the said advantages and for the favors they have acquired by the 4th, 5th and 6th articles of this treaty, the United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada by the present stipulation the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists; and in consequence, the United States also guarantee in the same manner the rights of sovereignty and property which New Grenada has and possesses over the said territory."

In transmitting this treaty to the Senate on the 10th of February, 1847, President Polk made these observations:

"1. The treaty does not propose to guarantee a territory to a foreign nation in which the United States will have no common interest with that Nation. On the contrary, we are more deeply and directly interested in the subject of this guarantee than New Granada herself or any other Country.

"2. The guarantee does not extend to the territories of New Granada generally but is confined to the single province of the Isthmus of Panama, where we shall acquire, by the treaty, a common and co-extensive right of passage with herself.

"3. It will constitute no alliance for any political object, but for a purely commercial purpose in which all the navigating nations of the world have a common interest."

You will perceive that in this transaction New Granada recognized the subordination of her sovereignty to the world's easement of passage by railroad or by canal, and, apprehending that other nations might seek to exercise that right through the destruction of her sovereignty and the appropriation of her territory, she procured the United States to assume the responsibility

of protecting her against such treatment. The United States assumed that burden and by way of consideration

1st: The United States received an express grant of the right of way which President Polk described as constituting a "common and co-extensive right of passage with New Granada herself," and as making the United States, "more deeply and directly interested in the subject of this guarantee than New Granada herself, or any other country;"

2d: The United States received a grant of power and assumed a duty herself to keep the transit free and uninterrupted and unembarrassed, and to keep the territory of the transit neutral.

The duties assumed by the United States to maintain neutrality and free passage were undertaken for the benefit of all the world. The right to maintain free passage was, however, not merely for the general benefit, but was specifically declared to be "in order to secure to themselves (the United States) the tranquil and constant enjoyment" of the right of way. The United States assumed the burden of protecting New Granada against an unjust exercise of the world's right of passage. She assumed the correlative duty of safeguarding the just exercise of the world's right of passage and she acquired for herself a specific grant of the right of way and the power to exercise for her own benefit in that territory the functions of sovereignty which were necessary for the peaceable enjoyment of the interest thus acquired by her.

Both countries have agreed in the construction that this treaty imposed upon the United States no duty towards Colombia to help her put down domestic insurrection. With that form of assault upon the sovereignty of Colombia the United States has had no concern, except when it tended to interfere with free transit, and then the action of the United States has been, not in the exercise of a duty toward Colombia, but in the protection of her own rights.

Throughout the half century past since the treaty was made, the United States has been faithful to her obligations. The distinct announcement of her protection and her constantly increasing power have been an adequate barrier against foreign aggression upon the Isthmus. In all the long and monotonous series of revolutions and rebellions in which Colombia from the

beginning showed herself wholly incapable of maintaining order, United States sailors and marines have policed the railroad, its terminal cities and its harbors—sometimes by Colombia's request and sometimes without it—prohibiting action sometimes by the forces of the party in power and sometimes by the forces of the party out of power, but always enforcing peace upon the line of transit. In a long and unbroken series of formal binding official Declarations by nearly every administration for more than half a century, we have committed our Country as a matter of traditional policy to the execution of the trust to protect and control the passage of the Isthmus for the equal uses of all Nations.

It will be observed that one effect of the treaty of 1846 was that foreign powers were to be excluded from the opportunity to construct the canal themselves. It followed from this that if private enterprise should fail to build the canal, the United States assumed the obligation to build it herself. We could not play dog in the manger on the Isthmus. We could not refuse to permit the work to be done by anyone else competent to do it and refuse the burden ourselves. The obligation of the United States to build the canal and the obligation of Colombia to permit her to build it both followed necessarily from the relations and obligations assumed by them in the treaty of 1846.

Private enterprise has failed to build the canal. The great French company organized by de Lesseps, after spending and wasting an incredible amount of treasure and after the sacrifice of thousands of lives, has abandoned hope of completing the undertaking. No private company again will grapple with the colossal enterprise. Other nations are excluded from the attempt by the force of our agreement with Colombia. If the canal is to be built, we must build it.

The United States has answered to that obligation. Again upon the request of Colombia, she entered upon the negotiation of the further treaty described by the Granadian Secretary, Mallerino, in 1846: as "a subsequent and supplementary convention, in which the transit of the interoceanic passage should be arranged and its permanent neutrality confirmed."

Colombia stood to profit more by the building of that canal than any other nation upon earth. Her territory stretching across

the northwestern end of South America was without internal communication or unity. Her principal towns upon her Atlantic and her Pacific coasts were separated by ranges of lofty mountains not traversed by any railroad, and for the most part without roads of any kind. The building of a canal would, for the first time, establish practical and easy communication between her different provinces. The work of construction would bring enormous sums to be expended in her territory, and the operation of the canal would set Colombia upon a great highway of the world's commerce with incalculable opportunities for development and wealth. She had acknowledged the world's right to the canal. She had specifically granted the right of way to the United States. She had induced the United States to assume the moral obligation for its construction by excluding all other nations from the Isthmus for her protection. When she came to settle the terms of this "supplementary convention", the detailed arrangements under which this enormous benefit might be conferred upon mankind, and especially upon herself, she demanded to be paid.

Reluctantly, and with a sense that it was unjust exaction, the United States agreed to pay ten million dollars down and two hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum in perpetuity—substantially the entire amount exacted by Colombia. We were not going into the enterprise to make money, but for the common good. We did not expect the revenues of the canal to repay its cost, or to receive any benefit from it, except that which Columbia would share to a higher degree than ourselves. Against the hundreds of millions which we were obligating ourselves to expend, Colombia was expected only to permit the use of a small tract of otherwise worthless land already, in substance, devoted to that purpose. We were not seeking a privilege which Colombia was entitled to withhold, but settling the method in which the acknowledged right of mankind over a portion of her soil should be exercised, with due regard to her special interests. It was not just that we should pay anything, but it was better to pay than to coerce a weaker nation. The treaty was ratified by the Senate, and forwarded to Bogota. At the same time, we arranged that upon the final ratification of the treaty we should pay to the Panama Canal Company forty million dollars, the entire ap-

praised value of its work upon the canal, in which it had expended nearly two hundred million dollars. The concessions made in the treaty to the Government of Colombia, however, seemed merely to inspire in that Government a belief that there was no limit to the exactions which they could successfully impose. They demanded a further ten million dollars from the Panama Canal Company and upon its refusal they rejected the treaty.

This rejection was a substantial refusal to permit the canal to be built. It appears that the refusal contemplated not merely further exactions from us but the spoliation of the Canal Company. That Company's current franchise was limited by its terms to the 31st day of October, 1904. There was an extension for six years granted by the President and for which the company had paid five million francs. These patriots proposed to declare the extension void and the franchise ended and to confiscate the forty million dollars' worth of property of the Company and take from the United States for themselves, in payment for it, the forty million dollars we had agreed to pay the Company. The report of the Committee on which the Colombian Senate acted contained the following:

"By the 31st of October of next year—that is to say, when the next Congress shall have met in ordinary session—the extension will have expired, and every privilege with it. In that case, the Republic will become the possessor and owner, without any need of a previous judicious decision and without any indemnity, of the canal itself, and of the adjuncts that belong to it, according to the contracts of 1878 and 1900.

"When that time arrives, the Republic, without any impediment, will be able to contract and will be in more clear, more definite and more advantageous possession both legally and materially. The authorizations which would then be given by the next Congress would be very different from those that would be given by the present one."

By becoming a party to this scheme, we might indeed have looked forward to the time when, the appetite of Colombia being satisfied at the expense of the unfortunate stockholders of the French Company, we could proceed with the work; but such a course was too repugnant to the sense of justice that obtains in every civilized community to be for a moment contemplated. We

had yielded to the last point, beyond reason and justice, in agreeing to pay for a privilege to which we were already entitled and we could not with self-respect submit to be mulcted further. We could negotiate no further. Rejection of the treaty was practically a veto of the canal. Every effort was made to bring Colombia to a realization of what it was that she was doing; the effort was in vain, and on the 31st of October, when the Colombian Congress adjourned, the inchoate treaty had expired by limitation.

The questions presented to the United States by this rejection were of the gravest importance. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, said in 1858:

"The progress of events has rendered the interoceanic route across the narrow portion of Central America vastly important to the commercial world, and especially to the United States, whose possessions extend along the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, and demand the speediest and easiest modes of communication. While the rights of sovereignty of the States occupying this region should always be respected, we shall expect that these rights be exercised in a spirit befitting the occasion and the wants and circumstances that have arisen. Sovereignty has its duties as well as its rights, and none of these local governments, even if administered with more regard to the just demands of other nations than they have been, would be permitted in a spirit of eastern isolation to close the gates of intercourse on the great highways of the world and justify the act by the pretention that these avenues of trade and travel belong to them and that they choose to shut them, or what is almost equivalent, to encumber them with such unjust relations as would prevent their general use."

The time had apparently come to stand upon this declaration or abandon the canal. The question was, should we submit to be deprived of the canal at the will of Colombia, whose sovereignty was justly subject to the world's passage? Should we continue to maintain upon the Isthmus that feeble sovereignty whose existence had depended for half a century upon our protection, in order that it might still bar the way of the world's progress and the exercise of our just rights? Should we prepare to protect that sovereignty in its scheme of spoliation, against the justly indignant protests of France surely coming to the support of the stockholders of the French canal company? Or, should we say to Colombia, you have no right to prevent the

construction of this canal; you are bound to consent to it upon reasonable terms; by your request we have assumed a position in which we are bound to build it for the use of the nations, and in which we are entitled to build it for our own interest; and we shall now proceed to build it with due regard for your interests, whether you agree upon the terms and conditions or not.

I think that Secretary Cass answered the question forty-five years ago. In Europe a concert of the powers would have made short work of the question. In Central America they would have made short work of it but for the Monroe Doctrine, to which New Granada appealed, and the protection which we guaranteed to her under the treaty of 1846. By the assertion of that Doctrine and the engagements of that treaty we took the responsibility upon ourselves alone, to do for civilization what otherwise all the maritime powers would have united in requiring; it was for us alone to act; and I have no question that our right and duty were to build the canal, with or without the consent of Colombia.

These were the conditions existing when the revolution of November 3d happened. To an understanding of that revolution a knowledge of the character and history of Panama is essential. Some uninformed persons have assumed that it was merely a number of individual citizens of Colombia living in the neighborhood of the proposed canal who combined to take possession of that part of Colombian territory and set up a Government of their own. No conception could be more inadequate. The Sovereign State of Panama was an organized Civil Society possessed of a territory extending over 400 miles in length from Costa Rica on the west to the mainland of South America on the east. It had a population of over 300,000, the greater part of whom lived in the western part of the Country, towards Costa Rica, and farthest removed from South America. Between the inhabited part of this territory and inhabited part of Colombia, stretched hundreds of miles of tropical forest so dense as to be impassable by the ordinary traveler, so that there was no communication by land between the two countries. The only intercourse was by long sea voyages, as if Panama were a distant Island; and the journey from the Isthmus to the Capital of Colombia was longer in time than from the Isthmus to Washington.

Panama was not an original part of Colombia, or of New

Granada, but obtained its own independence from Spain and established its own Government in November, 1821, and thereafter voluntarily entered the Granadian confederation. When that confederation was broken up into Venezuela, Ecuador and New Granada in 1832, Panama remained with New Granada, and so continued until the year 1840, when she again became independent and remained a separate sovereignty until 1842. She then returned to New Granada and remained a part of that country until 1855, when by amendment to the Constitution these provisions went into effect:

"ART. 1. The territory which comprises the provinces of the Isthmus of Panama, to wit, Panama, Ezuero, Veraguas and Chiriquí, form a sovereign, federal, integral part of New Granada under the name of the State of Panama.

"ART. 3. The State of Panama is subject to that of New Granada in the matters which are here mentioned:

"1. All matters concerning foreign relations;

"2. Organization and service of the regular army and of the marines;

"3. Federal finances.

"4. Naturalization of foreigners.

"5. Official weights, balances and measures.

"ART. 4. In all other matters of legislation and administration, the State of Panama shall legislate freely in the manner it considers proper in accordance with the rules of practice of its own constitution."

Since that time, now nearly fifty years ago, the State of Panama has never voluntarily surrendered her sovereignty. In 1858, in 1860 and in 1861, new confederations were formed in which Panama became a contracting party. In 1863 a new Constitution was formed, the first two articles of which were as follows:

"ART. 1. The Sovereign States of Antioquia, Bolívar, Boyaca, Cauca, Cundinamarca, Magdalena, Panama, Santander and Tolima, created respectively by the acts of the 27th of February, 1855, 11th of June, 1856, 13th of May, 1857, 15th of June of the same year, 12th of April, 1861, and 3d of September of the same year, unite and confederate forever, consulting their external security and reciprocal aid, and form a free, sovereign and independent nation under the name of the 'United States of Colombia.'

"ART. 2. The said States engage to aid and defend themselves mutually against all violence that may injure the sovereignty of the Union or that of the States."

This Constitution undertook to distribute general and local powers between the federal and the State Governments upon the principles followed in the Constitution of the United States. But it provided:

"ART. 25. Every act of the National Congress or of the executive power of the United States, which shall violate the rights warranted in the 15th article, or attack the sovereignty of the States, shall be liable to abrogation by the vote of the latter expressed by the majority of their respective legislatures."

And it provided that it could be amended only in the following manner:

"1. That the amendments be solicited by the majority of the legislatures of the States:

"2. That the amendments be discussed and approved in both houses, according to what has been established for the enactment of laws; and

"3. That the amendments be ratified by the unanimous votes of the Senate of Plenipotentiaries, each state having one vote.

"It may also be amended by a convention called therefor by the Congress on the application of the whole of the legislatures of the States, and composed of an equal number of deputies from each State."

Under this Constitution Mr. King, the American Minister at Bogota, reported to the Secretary of State at Washington:

"The States comprising the Union were vested with absolute and unqualified sovereignty. From them emanated all authority, and without their assent none could be exercised by the Federal functionaries of the Nation."

Under that Constitution the sovereign State of Panama lived in confederation with the other States of Colombia for twenty-three years, until the year 1886. She never legally lost her rights under that Constitution, but she was deprived of them in fact by force in the manner which I shall now describe.

In the year 1885 Rafael Nunez, having been elected president of the Confederation of Colombia under the Constitution of 1863, undertook to govern in disregard of constitutional limitations, and was resisted in many parts of Colombia, including Panama. The resistance was overcome and when that was accomplished

Nunez declared "The Constitution of 1863 no longer exists." He put Panama under martial law, not during the civil war, but after its close, and appointed a Governor of the State. He also appointed Governors for the other States in the Confederation. He then directed these Governors to appoint delegates to a Constitutional convention; and the delegates thus appointed framed what is known as the Constitution of 1886. The two delegates appointed to represent Panama in this Convention were residents of Bogota. Neither of them had ever resided in Panama, and one of them never had set foot in Panama. The pretended Constitution thus framed by the appointees of Nunez was declared to be adopted without compliance with a single one of the requisites prescribed by the Constitution of 1863 for its amendment. It robbed the people of Panama of every vestige of self-government. It gave them a Governor to be appointed by the President at Bogota, and he, in turn, appointed all the administrative officers of the Department. It left to the other States their legislatures but it took away from Panama its legislature and subjected the Isthmus directly in all things to the legislative authority of the Congress of Bogota. It provided that the President might at any time in case of civil commotion declare the public order to be disturbed, and that he should thereupon have authority to issue decrees having the force of legislative enactments. It gave him absolute power over the press and power to imprison or expatriate any citizen at will. It took away the property, the powers, the corporate existence, the civil organization of the State, and placed the property and the lives of its people absolutely under the authority and power of a single dictator in a distant capital with which there was no communication by land, and which it required longer to reach than it did to reach the city of Washington. This pretended Constitution was never submitted to the people of Panama for their approval or rejection. It was never consented to by them. Our Minister at Bogota, Mr. King, closed his despatch describing the new instrument with these words:

"No generous mind can contemplate the disasters which have befallen this people, or meditate on the ills that may flow from their reckless experiment of violent political change, without feeling a deep sorrow for the pains endured by a weak and long-suffering race, who mourn the destruction of their chartered rights

as the loss of a cherished freedom that must be recovered at the cost of every peril."

In an address made by President Nunez to this convention of his own appointees he indicated clearly the way in which he proposed to make the new constitution effective in Panama. He said:

"To what has been stated is added the necessity of maintaining for some time a strong army which shall serve as a material support to the acclimatization of peace which cannot be produced instantaneously by a system of government little in harmony with the defective habits acquired in so many years of error. The State of Panama alone requires a large and well-paid garrison, in order that acts may not again occur endangering our sovereignty; without such precaution excluding the most certain one, which is the prudent cultivation of our relations with the North American Government, which has just given us clear evidence of its good faith."

The evidence of good faith to which he referred was that our armed forces had just turned the Isthmus over from the control of the troops of Panama to the control of the troops of Nunez; and the meaning was that he intended to hold the people of Panama subject by force of arms and the aid of the United States.

In May, 1886, our Consul at Panama reported to the State Department:

"The people of the Isthmus are ground down by excessive taxation, and they fear to acquire property lest they shall not only be robbed by the tax gatherers but also imprisoned to cloak the robbery under a false charge. At the present time the revenue derived from the Cities of Panama and Colon and intermediary Villages is at the rate of one million dollars a year. Not one-tenth of this revenue is spent for the benefit of the people. It is used to keep the forces to keep them in subjection."

On the 24th of December, 1886, four months after the promulgation of the Constitution, he reported:

"Three-fourths of the people of this Isthmus desire separation and the independence of the extinguished State of Panama. They feel but little more affection for the Governor at Panama than the Poles did forty years ago for their masters at St. Petersburg. They would revolt if they could get arms and if they felt that the United States would not interfere."

A signed article published in December last in the newspaper "El Relator" of Bogota, sums up the story of oppression and spoliation under which the people of Panama have suffered during these recent years. The facts which the writer states appear also spread at large in numerous reports upon the files of our State Department. He says:

"When the Isthmus in 1821 had sealed its independence and had incorporated itself spontaneously to great Colombia, undoubtedly it had the conviction that we would not annul its rights and its liberty as a nation; it thought that we would always respect the integrity of its own government. Whether we have betrayed or not the confidence that the Isthmians had in our country, the history of the last twenty years and the work of inequity and spoiling realized in Panama will answer.

"We have converted the Lords and Masters of that territory into Pariahs of their native soils. We have cut off their rights and suppressed all their liberties unexpectedly. We have robbed them of the most precious faculty of a free people—that of electing their mandataries, their legislators, their judges.

"We have restricted for them the right of suffrage; we have falsified the count of votes; we have made prevalent over the popular will, the will of a mercenary soldiery and that of a series of employees entirely strange to the interests of the Department; we have taken away from them the right of law making and as a compensation we have put them under the iron yoke of exceptional laws; State, Provinces and Municipalities have lost entirely the autonomy which they were enjoying formerly. * * *

"In towns of a cosmopolitan character of the Isthmus, we did not find any national schools where children could learn our religion, our language, our history and how to love their country. In the face of the world we have punished with imprisonment, with expulsion, with fines and whippings the writers for the innocent expression of their thought. Since December, 1884, to October, 1903, the Presidents, Governors, Secretaries, Prefects, Mayors, Chiefs of Police, Military Chiefs, Officials and Soldiers, Inspectors of Police, the Police itself, Captains and Surgeons of Harbors, Magistrates, Judges of all descriptions, State Attorneys, everybody came from the high plains of the Andes and from other parts of the Republic to impose on the Isthmus the will, the law, or the whims of the more powerful, to sell justice or speculate with the Treasury. This series of employees similar to an octopus with its multiple arms was sucking the blood of an oppressed people and was devouring what only the Panamans had a right to devour. We have made of the Isthmus a real military Province and when this nation of three hundred and fifty thousand souls had men of con-

tinental reputation like Justo Arosemana, legislators of the first order and of an irresistible popularity like Pablo Arosemana and like Gil Colunje; men of talent like Ardila; brilliant diplomats like Hurtado and scientific celebrities of European reputation like Sosa, we leave them aside, we relegate them in contempt and in forgetfulness instead of putting them at the head of the Isthmus, in order to quench the thirst of equity and justice and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of all the Panamans. Such a way of proceeding has wounded the pride, the dignity and the patriotism of all the intellectual people of the Isthmus, and has provoked and developed the hatred and the anger of the popular mass."

The people of Panama fought to exhaustion in 1885 to prevent the loss of their liberty and they were defeated through the action of the Naval forces of the United States. Three times since then they have risen in rebellion against their oppressors.

In 1895 they arose and were suppressed by force; in 1899 they arose again and for three years maintained a war for liberation, which ended in 1902 through the interposition of the United States by armed force. The rising of November, 1903, was the fourth attempt of this people to regain the rights of which they had been deprived by the usurpation of Nunez. The rejection of the canal treaty by the Bogota Congress was the final and overwhelming injury to the interests of Panama, the conclusive evidence of indifference to her welfare and disregard of her wishes, and it also created the opportunity for success in her persistent purpose to regain civil liberty; for it was plain that under the strained relations created by that rejection, the United States naturally would not exercise her authority again upon the Isthmus as she had exercised it before to aid the troops of Colombia. She was under no obligation to do so, and she could not do so without aiding in the denial of her own rights and the destruction of her own interests. Upon that the people of Panama relied in their last attempt, and they relied upon it with reason.

In the meantime there had been a curious grafting of usurpation upon usurpation at Bogota. In 1898 M. A. Sanclamente was elected President, and J. M. Maroquin, Vice-President, of the Republic of Colombia. It is true that there was no freedom of election. Our Minister had reported of a preceding election: "None but the soldiers, police and employees of the Government

voted, thus making the victory of the Government complete"; but there was a form of election, and Sanclamente became the only President there was, and Maroquin the Vice-President. Article 24 of the Constitution of 1886 provided:

"The Vice-President of the Republic shall perform the duties of the executive office during the temporary absence of the President. In case of the permanent absence of the President, the Vice-President shall occupy the office of the President during the balance of the time for which he was elected."

On the 31st of July, 1900, the Vice-President, Maroquin, executed a *coup de etat* by seizing the person of the President Sanclamente, and imprisoning him at a place a few miles outside of Bogota. Maroquin thereupon declared himself possessed of the executive power because of the absence of the President. He then issued a decree that public order was disturbed, and, upon that ground, assumed to himself legislative power under another provision of the Constitution which I have already cited. Thenceforth, Maroquin, without the aid of any legislative body, ruled as the supreme executive, legislative, civil and military authority in the so-called Republic of Colombia. The absence of Sanclamente from the capital became permanent by his death in prison in the year 1902. When the people of Panama declared their independence in November last, no Congress had sat in Colombia since the year 1898, except the special Congress called by Maroquin to reject the canal treaty, and which did reject it by a unanimous vote, and adjourned without legislating on any other subject. The Constitution of 1886 had taken away from Panama the power of self-government and vested it in Colombia. The *coup de etat* of Maroquin took away from Colombia herself the power of government and vested it in an irresponsible dictator.

The true nature of the government against which Panama rebelled is plainly shown by the proposals to the United States by the Bogota government upon receiving the first news of the revolution. On the 6th of November the United States Minister at Bogota, Mr. Beaupré, telegraphed to Mr. Hay:

"Knowing that the revolution has already commenced in Panama, General Reyes says that if the Government of the United States will land troops to preserve Colombian sovereignty and the

transit of the Isthmus, if requested by the charge d'affairs of Colombia, this Government will declare martial law and by virtue of vested constitutional authority, when public order is disturbed, will approve by decree the ratification of the canal treaty as signed; or, if the Government of the United States prefers, will call extra session of Congress with new and friendly members next May to approve the Treaty."

On the 7th of November, Mr. Beaupré telegraphed to Mr. Hay:

"General Reyes leaves next Monday for Panama invested with full powers. He has telegraphed chiefs of the insurrection that his mission is to the interests of Isthmus. He wishes answer from you before leaving to the inquiry in my telegram of yesterday, and wishes to know if the American Commander will be ordered to co-operate with him and with new Panama government to arrange peace and the approval of Canal Treaty, which will be accepted on condition that the integrity of Colombia be preserved. He has telegraphed President of Mexico to ask the Government of the United States and all the countries represented at the Pan-American Conference to aid Colombia to preserve her integrity. The question of the approval of the Treaty mentioned in my telegram yesterday will be arranged in Panama; he asks that before taking definite action, you will await his arrival there, and that the Government of the United States in the meantime preserve the neutrality and transit of the Isthmus, and do not recognize the new Government."

The General Reyes of these dispatches is now the President-elect of Columbia. Upon reading them who can fail to see that there was no constitutional government in Colombia; that no government of law protected the people of Panama and their interests against the will of an arbitrary and foreign power; that the deliberations and unanimous action of the Special Congress at Bogota had been a sham and a pretense; that Panama's rights, that the rights of the United States, that the world's rights to the passage of the Isthmus, had been the subject of disingenuous juggling at the hands of successful adventurers and not of the fair expression of a free nation's will,

When these dispatches were received the die was not cast on the Isthmus; the United States had not recognized the new Republic of Panama; she had assumed no obligations toward the leaders of the new movement or toward their followers. Col-

ombia and Panama then both held out to us the offer of the right and opportunity to build the Canal. Colombia said, "We will ratify the treaty—we will ratify it by decree, or we will call a Congress selected for the purpose of ratifying the treaty as the preceding Congress was selected for the purpose of rejecting it—if you will preserve our integrity." Panama said, "Recognize our independence, and the treaty follows of course, for the building of the Canal is our dearest hope." There was no question of interest on the part of the United States; the treaty was secure; the canal was secure; but there was a question of right, a question of justice, a question of national conscience to be dealt with. What was the duty of the United States toward the people of Panama and the dictator at Bogota?

The people of Panama were the real owners of the canal route; it was because their fathers dwelt in the land, because they won their independence from Spain, because they organized a civil society there, that it was not to be treated as one of the waste places of the earth. They owned that part of the earth's surface just as much as the State of New York owns the Erie Canal. When the Sovereign State of Panama confederated itself with the other states of Colombia under the constitution of 1863 it did not part with its title or its substantial rights, but constituted the federal government its trustee for the representation of its rights in all foreign relations, and imposed upon that government the duty of protecting them. The trustee was faithless to its trust; it repudiated its obligations without the consent of the true owner; it seized by the strong hand of military power the rights which it was bound to protect; Colombia itself broke the bonds of union and destroyed the compact upon which alone depended its right to represent the owner of the soil. The question for the United States was, Shall we take this treaty from the true owner or shall we take it from the faithless trustee, and for that purpose a third time put back the yoke of foreign domination upon the neck of Panama, by the request of that government which has tried to play toward us the part of the highwayman? There was no provision of our treaty with Colombia which required us to answer to her call, for our guaranty of her sovereignty in that treaty relates solely to foreign aggression. There was no rule of international law which required us to recognize the

wrongs of Panama or the justice of her cause, for international law does not concern itself with the internal affairs of states. But I put it to the conscience of the American people who are passing judgment upon the action of their Government, whether the decision of our President and Secretary of State and Senate was not a righteous decision.

By all the principles of justice among men and among nations that we have learned from our fathers and all peoples and all governments should maintain, the revolutionists in Panama were right, the people of Panama were entitled to be free again, the Isthmus was theirs and they were entitled to govern it; and it would have been a shameful thing for the Government of the United States to return them again to servitude.

It is hardly necessary to say now that our Government had no part in devising, fomenting or bringing about the revolution on the Isthmus of Panama. President Roosevelt said in his message to Congress of January 4th, 1904:

"I hesitate to refer to the injurious insinuations which have been made of complicity by this Government in the revolutionary movement in Panama. They are as destitute of foundation as of propriety. The only excuse for my mentioning them is the fear lest unthinking persons might mistake for acquiescence the silence of mere self-respect. I think proper to say, therefore, that no one connected with this Government had any part in preparing, inciting or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama, and that save from the reports of our naval and military officers, given above, no one connected with this Government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs."

The people of the United States, without distinction of party, will give to that statement their unquestioning belief.

All the world knew that there would be a rising by the people of Panama if the Colombian Congress adjourned without approving the treaty, as it did adjourn on the 31st of October. The newspapers of the United States were filled with statements to that effect, and our State and Navy Departments could not fail to be aware of it. They took the same steps they had always taken under similar circumstances to have naval vessels present to keep the transit open and protect American life and property.

If any criticism is to be made upon their course, it is that there was too little rather than too much provision and preparation. There was no naval vessel of the United States at the City of Panama, and there were no armed forces of the United States there when the rising occurred. There was one small vessel at Colon which was able to land a force of forty-two marines and bluejackets; that was the entire force which the United States had on the Isthmus at the time of the revolution. They were landed at Colon as our troops had many times before been landed, and they were landed under these circumstances: On the morning of November 3d, the day of the rising at Panama, about 450 Colombia troops landed at Colon and their two generals proceeded by rail to the City of Panama, where they were arrested and placed in confinement by the insurgents, who had been joined by all the Colombian troops on the Isthmus except the 450 just landed, and who had a force of 1,500 men under arms. On the morning of the next day, the 4th of November, the remaining commander of this body of Colombian troops in Colon sent a notice to the American Consul that if the officers who had been arrested by the insurgents in Panama the evening before were not released by two o'clock P. M. he would open fire upon the town and kill every United States citizen in the place. There was then no American armed force of any description on the soil of the Isthmus. The Nashville was in the Harbor. The American Consul appealed to the Commander of the Nashville for protection, and he landed the 42 marines and bluejackets. They took possession of the shed of the Panama Railroad Company, a stone building capable of defense, collected there the American men residing in Colon, sent the American women and children on board of a Panama Railroad steamer and a German steamer which were lying in the dock, and prepared to receive the threatened attack. The building was surrounded by the Colombian troops, and for an hour and a half this little force stood to its arms ready to fire and expecting to receive the threatened and apparently intended attack of ten times their number. Then cooler judgment prevailed with the Colombian officers and the tension was relieved. On the following day a renewal of the threatening attitude of the Colombian troops led to a reoccupation of the railroad shed and a return of the women and children to the steam-

ers; but again the danger passed without conflict, and on the evening of the second day, the 5th of November, after conferences with the insurgent leaders, in which the American officers took no part, the Colombian troops boarded a Colombian ship and sailed away from the Harbor of Colon, leaving no Colombian force on the Isthmus. The Commander of the Nashville closes his report of these occurrences in these words:

"I beg to assure the Department that I had no part whatever in the negotiations that were carried on between Colonel Torres and the representatives of the Provisional Government; that I landed an armed force only when the lives of American citizens were threatened, and withdrew this force as soon as there seemed to be no ground for further apprehension of injury to American lives and property; that I relanded an armed force because of the failure of Colonel Torres to carry out his agreement to withdraw and announced intention to return; and that my attitude throughout was strictly neutral as between the two parties, my only purpose being to protect the lives and property of American citizens and to preserve the free and uninterrupted transit of the Isthmus."

Objection has been made that owing to American direction the Panama Railroad Company refused to transport the 450 Colombian soldiers to Panama to attack the 1,500 insurgents in arms there, and that the officers of the American Government were directed to prevent any troops of either party from making the line of the Railroad the theater of hostilities; but this was no new policy devised or applied for this occasion; and it was impartial as to both parties to the controversy. The insurgents were anxious that the transportation should be given, for they outnumbered the Colombians more than three to one, and when it was refused they asked for transportation for themselves to attack the Colombians in Colon, and that was refused. The year before a communication had been sent to the Commander of the Colombian forces and the Commander of the Insurgent forces on the Isthmus in these words:

"U. S. S. CINCINNATI, September 19, 1902.

"DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to inform you that the United States naval forces are guarding the railway trains and the line of transit across the Isthmus of Panama from sea to sea, and that no persons whatever will be allowed to obstruct, embarrass or inter-

fere in any manner with the trains or the route of transit. No armed men except forces of the United States will be allowed to come on or use the line.

"All of this is without prejudice or any desire to interfere in domestic contentions of the Colombians.

"Please acknowledge receipt of this communication.

"With assurances of high esteem and consideration, I remain,

"Very respectfully,

"T. C. McLEAN,

"Commander U. S. N., Commanding."

The policy embodied in this official notice of 1902 was the same policy followed in November, 1903, and none other; it was the outcome of the experience gained during the long course of warfare and the painful experience of property destroyed and traffic suspended, which showed that if the rights of the United States on the Isthmus of Panama were to be protected they must be protected by the United States itself insisting that its right of way should not be made the field of battle; as it had been in 1885, when Colon was burned with the railroad terminals and wharves, when Panama was captured, track was torn up, cars were broken open, telegraph wires were cut and armored trains were a necessity. The warrant for the execution of that policy is the right of self-protection. The things done by our officers might not have been permissible in the territory of a country of strong and orderly government possessing and exercising the power to prevent lawless violence and to protect the lives and property of citizens and foreigners alike; but action of this character is, according to the universal rules obtaining among civilized nations, not only permissible, but a duty of the highest obligation in countries whose feeble governments exercise imperfect control in their own territory and fail to perform the duties of sovereignty for the protection of life and property. The armed force of American sailors who during the past few weeks have been protecting American life and property in the friendly capital of Corea have not been making war upon that power. The expeditionary force which marched to Peking under Chaffee in the summer of 1900, and, carrying the capital of China by assault, rescued the residents of the American Legation, was not making war upon that nation, which relies with just confi-

dence upon our constant friendship. In that category of incapacity to protect the rights of others, Colombia has placed herself as to the Isthmus of Panama by the record of the past years. She could not maintain order upon the Isthmus because she did not seek to maintain justice; she could not command respect for her laws because she had abandoned the rule of law and submitted to the control of an arbitrary dictator. The right of self-protection for American interests rested upon these facts, emphasized and enforced by the grant of power in the treaty of 1846, and by Colombia's own appeals to the American Government to intervene for the maintenance of order.

It was not the neutral force of forty-two marines and blue-jackets, or anything that the American Government or American officers said or did, that led the 450 Colombians to retire from Colon; it was the fact that they found themselves alone among a hostile and unanimous people with an overwhelming insurgent force in arms against them which left no alternative but capture or retreat. The recognition of independence and the treaty with Panama are the real grounds of Colombia's complaint, and upon the justice of those acts America stands, fairly, openly, with full disclosure of every step taken and every object sought.

Upon the firm foundation of that righteous action, with the willing authority of the lawful owners of the soil, we will dig the canal, not for selfish reasons, not for greed of gain, but for the world's commerce, benefiting Colombia most of all. We shall not get back the money we spend upon the canal any more than we shall get back the money we have expended to make Cuba a free and independent Republic, or the money we have expended to set the people of the Philippines on the path of ordered liberty and competency for self-government. But we shall promote our commerce, we shall unite our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, we shall render inestimable service to mankind, and we shall grow in greatness and honor and in the strength that comes from difficult tasks accomplished and from the exercise of the power that strives in the nature of a great constructive people.

AFTER DINNER



THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT
JUDGE EMORY SPEER

THE ORATOR OF THE DAY
THE PRESIDENT

RESPONSE
HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT

THE MAN AND THE LAW
TALCOTT WILLIAMS, LL. D.

WHAT HAS PATRIOTISM THE RIGHT
TO DEMAND OF EDUCATION?

DR. W. J. TUCKER

BANQUET

Two hundred and fifty members of the Union League Club and their guests attended the banquet which was held in the clubhouse on the evening of February 22, 1904. President Wallace Heckman acted as toastmaster, and in introducing the first speaker of the evening, Judge Speer of Savannah, Ga., said:

Gentlemen of the Club: We are to be disappointed so far as "The Man and the Law" are concerned upon the program. We might get along without the law, but we sadly miss the man, Talcott Williams. (Applause.)

This further, "The American President"—I assume those who prepared the program supposed that this would be likely to be an address on the office of "The President." It happens that it is in fact a toast to the president, and therefore in this body of men it must take precedence of all others. (Applause.) Those of us who are lawyers have great fear of judges, except in their dissenting opinion. There was a dissenting opinion filed in this state, at one time, which was so criticised that the dissenting judge challenged his critic. But, on thinking the matter over, he thought best, after cooling down a little, to send a friend to see if it could not be adjusted in some way, consistent with the honor of that code, and asked his friend to suggest to his antagonist that under then existing statutes his engaging in the duel might disfranchise him. But by this time his critic had become combative and sent back reply: "You tell the jedge not to mind about disfranchisement—not a mite—for I'll kill him sure." (Laughter and applause.)

We have with us a judge whom fortunately we know and do not fear. Those of us who have heard or who have read the analysis by Judge Speer of Illinois' greatest military son, delivered a few years ago on Grant Day at Galena, will be interested in what he shall now have to say.

After the years of his service in Congress and upon the bench, we gladly welcome Judge Speer and what he shall offer in praise of the distinguished member of this club who heads the list of our honorary members (applause), and although we are a non-partisan and independent club, we will not be outdone in the hospitality for which his own state is so famous, nor as individuals in enthusiastic loyalty to his toast; and we give him full freedom and Godspeed to "The American President."

Gentlemen, Judge Speer. (Prolonged applause.)



JUDGE EMORY SPEER

Judge Emory Speer

Mr. President and Gentlemen: It is perhaps well for the equipoise of the human mind that we cannot forecast the full consequence of our actions. It has been declared that no man of whom history has given an account was ever endowed with judgment more perfect than that of Washington. But, while his heroic example and his breadth of statesmanship have been the chief inspiration of all his countrymen have accomplished, and while the system of government he, with his noble compatriots, evolved from the exigencies of the hour and the experience of the past has been "prophetic and prescient of all the future had in store," neither he nor they could possibly conceive the stupendous and majestic potentiality of the services they had rendered to their country and mankind. We may readily conceive the father of his country as, with the work of his glorious life behind him, a venerated sage, he paces the solitary avenues of Mt. Vernon and contemplates the future of the people whom he loved so well. Can it be that he dreams that in an hundred years the scanty population of the young republic would become an imperial race of eighty millions of free men, that its granaries would feed the world, that its mightiest staple for textile manufacture, then practically unknown, would clothe three-quarters of the human race, that its manufactures, then rude and primitive, would have attained a prolificness and a potency easily surpassing any nation, and many nations, in that proud old world beyond the deep; that its rude highways and Indian trails would be supplanted by roads of metal over which vast multitudes would be daily transported with incredible speed, by natural powers then unharnessed to the service of man; that his loved ones in the second generation could send with the speed of lightning messages of love and affection around the world, through the deep, unfathomed caves of the ocean, and over vast continents then unexplored, and, more

incredible still, that the human voice in every familiar cadence of interest, sympathy or affection, could, by the same mysterious power, be conveyed over thousands of miles, across vast rivers and lofty mountains, so that a son in this metropolis of the middle West in a moment can bring to the ear of the aged mother in a New England village a message of filial love in accents which recall to her gentle heart the hours long gone when he was a child at her knee. With his limitations, could the father of his country dream that in a time so short in the life of a nation, its territory would expand from a thin strip along the Atlantic until the rising sun, in its progress around the world, is in every clime greeted by the heaven-born hues of the Stars and Stripes? These limitations of mental vision were no discredit to the first of all Americans. In all that may betide us there can be none to rival him.

In these facts there is a lesson which we may take to heart. It is, that we often fail to see in accurate perspective, or in true proportion, the current events within our daily knowledge, the true character of our great contemporaries, the value of their services to the present and the future, or the history they make. This is in a sense unfortunate. It promotes that *nil admirari* shibboleth which seems to be a vigorous principle of modern Americanism. Washington, indeed, had his troubles on this score. It will be recalled that his would-be rival, General Charles Lee, wrote to one of his confidants that a certain great man "was most damnably deficient." And when that interesting malcontent was disobediently leading a disorderly retreat at Monmouth, and Washington, with all the rage of battle in his face, thundered an inquiry about his "ill-timed prudence," Lee, it is related, replied, "I know of no one who has more of that rascally virtue than your excellency." It will also be recalled that the renowned Andrew Jackson, then a young member of Congress from Tennessee, appeared in Washington City with his hair plaited in a queue, and confined in an eelskin, and recorded his disapprobation of Washington's character and conduct by opposing a resolution expressing gratitude of Congress for the military and civic virtues of the first president.

In truth, there seems in certain quarters a considerable degree of satiety and weariness, in the bare contemplation of our

country's achievements. Every American accomplishment and every great American contemporary is not infrequently made the object of cynical depreciation. An excess of exports over imports in the last seven years, amounting to the inconceivable sum of three billion, four hundred and eighty-three millions, is treated as a bagatelle. An excess in our favor of nearly two billions in the balance of trade for the last four years of the present administration, when compared with the last four years of an opposing policy, is ascribed not to prevailing economic methods, but to the habitual blessings of heaven. This, it is true, is not wholly without scriptural authority. "Blessed is the man," exclaimed the royal poet of Israel, "that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful. . . . Whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous; but the way of the ungodly shall perish." (Laughter and applause.) Nor would I be understood as deprecating that fair criticism of public men and measures distinctive of popular government. "Woe unto you," said the Savior, "when all men shall speak well of you."

It is probable that the American president of to-day will, and with some reason, hesitate to regard himself as strictly within the range of this contingent anathema recorded by St. Luke. Indeed, the country is continually regaled with such caressing description of that genuine, fearless, and high-souled American, as the "accidental president," the "Rough Rider in the White House," "the Broncho Buster," and other apt alliteratives constructed, as Sam Weller might say, according to the taste and inclination of the speller. These gentlemen should recall the fact that the out-of-door traits of our American president are typically Washingtonian. If he, in his vacation, slays the mountain lion, often does the diary of Washington recount how he "ketched a fox." There are even in this day in Georgia many foxhounds of the famous "July" strain, whose lineage can be traced to "Ringwood," "Vulcan," "True Love," and "Sweet Lips," who were the leaders of Washington's pack. If the president will occasionally shake up a diplomat or visiting prince with a swift gallop across country, let us not forget that astride "Ajax," "Chinkling," "Blue Skin," or some other famous thor-

oughbred from the Mt. Vernon stable the rough rider Washington would daily gallop "over the hills and far away." If in the manly exercises the first and the latest president are not unlike, a comparison of their civic services is in no sense discreditable to the latter.

Save the measure by the first Congress, to promote the amendments to the constitution, the marvelous organization of the treasury by Hamilton, the upbuilding of a national credit, and the creation of our judicial system, there were few, if any, measures of Washington's administration which surpass, or even equal in importance, a multitude of achievements in government, which will for all time stand to the credit of the present administration.

Where in all history is an instance of national unselfishness and magnanimity so striking or so benignant as the establishment of the Republic of Cuba? The last phalanx of the revolutionists had sunk beneath the Spanish sword. Its helpless people, like hideous specters, by the thousands starved in the camps of concentration. For Cuba

"Hope for a season bade the world farewell."

Then came the flag by angel hands to valor given. Then the Pearl of the Antilles rescued, redeemed and disenthralled, without requisition or reward, by our power is proudly placed all equal among the nations of the world. Would you understand the elevation of national character among our people, of which our president is the very flower and type, you have but to contrast the contemporaneous conduct of America in Cuba with that of Russia in Manchuria. (Applause.)

But not content with the creation of *Cuba libre*, to the everlasting honor of our country, against opposition the most tremendous, commercial reciprocity between the oldest and youngest republic, always with the determined advocacy of the American president, was happily accomplished. Cuban independence and Cuban prosperity insured, though "the convex world intrudes between," we quickly find that indefatigable American heart toiling for the establishment of civil government in the Philippines. Nor is the exquisite judgment with which he selects his great lieutenants the least among his claims upon the confidence of

the country. History will record how admirably, in this seemingly impossible task, he was aided by the then governor of the Philippine Islands, but now secretary of war, Judge Taft (applause), and by that secretary of war, not surpassed in the opinion of his country by any living man in his capacity to do and to say the right thing at the right time, whose attractive eloquence has to-day charmed, and whose charming presence to-night captivates, the members and guests of this renowned organization of the patriotic and pure, the Honorable Elihu Root. (Great applause.)

The foreign policy of the administration has been as valuable in its results to our country, as conspicuous in diplomatic history, for correctness, effectiveness and honor. The steady pressure of American public opinion, applied through the powerful hand of the secretary of state, has relieved Central America from the practical violation of the Monroe Doctrine, manifested by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and by its avoidance has removed obstacles which for more than half a century have impeded the construction of the Isthmian Canal. (Applause.)

Its firmness and skill spared to Venezuela the ravages of destructive war with Germany and Great Britain, and transferred to peaceful arbitrament at The Hague a controversy which in a moment might have involved our nation in the horrors of modern war.

In the "strenuous life," from Venezuela to Alaska is but a step. For thirty years the Alaskan boundary question has been steadily growing more critical and more dangerous. From this controversy, through the wise policy of the administration, our country has triumphantly emerged, and again with the assistance of that member of the cabinet, who, like Hamilton, seems "formed for all parts and in all alike shining variously great." (Applause.) Home he came not only with victory, but with ascertained might and proven honor for his country, for to the malcontents said Lord Alverstone, "If you do not wish a judicial decision you had best not select a British judge to make it." (Applause.)

The steady pressure of the great republic has largely maintained the integrity of China and the open door for our commerce in the East. But recently we have read in the press dispatches that the ratification of our treaty by cable and the

accrediting of consular agents at certain Manchurian ports was a distinct shock to the government of the Czar. A diplomatic torpedo, so to speak. (Laughter and applause.)

Even now when the gallant and marvelous army and navy of Japan are fiercely confronting the power of the most gigantic enemy of civil and religious liberty on earth, the American secretary of state, by his prompt initiative, has probably restricted the arena of combat, and in a measure protected the helpless and pathetic millions of China from the devastating and merciless swarms from the northern hive. (Prolonged applause.) Indeed, it begins to look as if the will of the American people, expressed through our manly and resourceful administration, has pretty much the effect of international law the world around. (Applause.)

In our domestic affairs the measures of our American president equal, if they do not surpass, the most elevated traditions of American administration. They are distinguished by a fearless respect for law and right.

Is it a demand by the powerful representatives of organized labor, that the rules of the order shall be paramount to the law of the land? While recognizing to the full and even promoting the righteous and lawful method of those great organizations of men who toil with their hands, the answer is that the constitution and laws shall be supreme.

Are labor and capital, occupied in those vast mines which supply the fuel of the people, engaged in a death struggle for advantage? Is the hum of industry hushed because the fires are out in the factory and the forge? Do helpless women and poor little children shiver from the bitter rigor of the winter's cold. Then speaks the great, benevolent heart of the president. Prompted by the benignant counsels, the adjustment quickly comes, and the country is spared an incalculable degree of human suffering and financial loss. Inestimable privilege. To hush the wail of the freezing child, to heal the anguish of the mother's heart, to extinguish the fires in the angry breasts of his countrymen! "Blessed are the peacemakers," said He who came to succor the suffering and the poor. (Loud applause.)

Do the mighty forces of organized capital, compacted by minds of the highest order, demand that the franchises of compe-

ting lines of transcontinental railways, constructed with governmental aid, shall be subject to a common and perhaps an arbitrary control? Do mighty combinations in restraint of trade violate the laws of the land? To the intrepid mind of this American president the unlawful and miniatory demands of organized capital have as little terror as the unlawful demands of organized labor. (Applause.) To him and to his administration the law is supreme. The judicious action of Congress is invoked for the reasonable control of trusts. For the enforcement of existing laws the attorney-general effectively invokes the authority of the courts. Judicial decrees stay the unauthorized hand of the powerful lawbreaker, and avoid the national danger of monopoly in the transportation of the products of the people. (Applause.)

In other matters of supreme importance the measures of the administration have been not less progressive, not less felicitous.

The tremendous impetus to the upbuilding of the navy, the thorough reorganization of the army; the establishment of an effective system for training and arming the national guard which will at no distant day make our gallant volunteer, even in the first line of defense, a worthy compeer of the "dandy, sandy, regular army man," the honest and relentless investigation and prosecution of offenses in the postoffice and interior departments; the relief to the people by the removal of the Spanish war taxes; the reduction of interest on the public debt by successfully conducted refundings, and the establishment of the great Department of Commerce and Labor, all make a record of honest and effective administration unsurpassed in the history of our country. (Applause.)

Not less efficacious have been the labors of the government for the protection of the enormous and indispensable interests of agriculture. "Much," said Dr. Johnson, "may be made of a Scotchman if he be caught young." (Laughter.) The sound philosophy of the great lexicographer is verified by the record of the secretary of agriculture, of whose birthplace sings Robbie Burns:

"Auld Ayr wham ne'er a town surpasses
For honest men and bonnie lasses."

The cattle plague on the great prairies of the Northwest; the San Jose scale among the peach orchards of Georgia; the boll

weevil on the broad cotton lands of Texas, find ever in him an implacable and relentless enemy.

A system of national irrigation is inaugurated, and the arid expanses of the far West soon, luxuriant with verdure, will rival the green pastures by still waters which will live forever in the grateful and adoring metaphors of the psalmist. (Applause.)

What fair and unprejudiced mind can hesitate to concede that the administrative accomplishments of which I have given a brief epitome afford a record of American administration which should be the pride of every patriot who rejoices in the prosperity of our people and in the honor of our flag? (Applause.)

But a great political record is rarely perfect. Varied, brilliant and effective as are the accomplishments of the American president, he has left one thing undone. It is the omission to do that thing which more than all things else is demanded by the clear-sighted and practical people who dwell in all the broad reach of this land of the free. But that thing which the president has left undone will be done to-morrow. It is the ratification of the treaty with Panama, the removal of the last and final obstacle to the completion of the Isthmian Canal. (Loud applause.) To-morrow will be indeed an epochal day, scarcely less famous than the day we celebrate. When the first beams of dawn shall cast their opalescent hues upon the frozen waters of Lake Michigan and gild the lofty architecture of your own marvelous city, you may, with every American, exclaim with old Sam Adams on the day of Lexington and Concord, "Oh, what a glorious morning is this." (Applause.) The mighty work which for more than four hundred years has been the dream of discoverers, conquerors, statesmen and navigators, through the fearless decision and timely and righteous exercise of an undoubted constitutional power by the executive, is now at hand. Moreover, despite all declared to the contrary, it is now demonstrated, by an unimpeachable record, that if the father of his country, and not Theodore Roosevelt, occupied the presidential chair, no act done and no order given could cause the punctilious conscience of Washington to withhold the approving signature of the executive. (Applause.)

It is probably true that no man has the strength of mind and power of imagination which can adequately forecast the in-

fluence of the canal to connect the two mighty oceans upon the fortunes of our country. It will project the Pacific into the heart of the continent. Completed, steamers from the coast cities of the Atlantic will have a straight southerly line to those lands of ancient splendor on the west coast of South America. It will save ten thousand miles in distance, and fifty days' time by a steamer from the Narrows of New York to the Golden Gate at San Francisco. Its augmentation of the prosperity of the seaports on the Atlantic and the Gulf will be incalculable, and if our government shall continue to display its sagacious and progressive enterprise, the day is not distant when, through improvements of our interior waterways, less difficult than the canal at Kiel, or that an Antwerp, freighters, without breaking cargo, can steam via the Mississippi from Chicago to Manila or Yokohama, to Melbourne or Hongkong. (Great applause.)

But not the least of the blessings to flow from this great interocean waterway will be the complete unification of the people of our country who dwell in the North and the South. Unity of feeling and unity of thought in all ages have ever followed the great lines of commercial intercourse. Heretofore the famous words of Bishop Berkeley have been true, "Westward the course of empire takes it way." The Isthmian Canal will give it a southward trend. We will thus come to know each other better, and thus avoid those misapprehensions which flow from a failure to appreciate in all their intensity and difficulty the social problems of widely separated states. Such familiar and exact knowledge is indeed most essential to our country's happy future.

If the president in any act of his has fallen into error, it is probably due to the fact that he had in his cabinet no southern man, who, while sympathizing with his views of general national policy, yet, with full knowledge, could advise him on those delicate, difficult, and, to southern men, supreme matters, involving possibilities of danger to our future which make the best and broadest-minded among us sometimes tremble. (Applause.)

Surely our material resources are not unworthy of the most anxious solicitude of the country. Perhaps it is not generally recognized that while in 1860 the production of pig iron in the whole country was less than nine hundred thousand tons, that to-day in the South alone it is more than three millions of tons; at that time that the total output of bituminous coal in the United

States was little more than five and a half million tons, that now in the South it is over fifty-three million tons; that then the whole country had only 30,592 miles of railway, and that now the southern states have 55,000 miles; that the value of manufactured cotton goods in the South now is over one hundred and ten millions a year, little less in value than the whole output of the United States forty years ago; that the output of lumber in the South to-day is more than four times that of the whole country in 1860; that then the petroleum product of the nation was only five hundred thousand barrels, and that the South alone is now marketing over twenty million barrels a year, and, as lately declared by a London expert, is "the Gibraltar of the lights and fuels of the world." And that in the last year, 1903, the exports from the South Atlantic and Gulf ports amounted to \$499,332,472, or thirty-six per cent of the exports of the United States. (Applause.)

Nor, gentlemen, should it be forgotton how the cotton crop of the southern states has broken the baleful onset of many a panic in the great financial centers of the country. I will say little of the manhood of the southern states. Its record is known. Of these intrepid souls who followed the standards of Lee and Johnston, the guidons of Wheeler and Forrest, but few remain. The survivors are old and worn, but the sons of their blood are there, and in its need they will rally around the Stars and Stripes with a joy as stern, a devotion as constant, as did their fathers to that conquered banner, which, though furled forever, will not perish from the memory of man. (Prolonged applause.)

God send the time when the people of the North and the South will know each other better. From the bottom of my heart am I grateful for the noble and truthful utterances at this board, with regard to my people made a year ago, by that illustrious and venerable son of Massachusetts, the Honorable George F. Hoar. (Applause.) It was my happiness to seize the first opportunity to quote the sentiments of that generous and fraternal American heart to a grand jury in the court where, for nineteen years, I have sat as judge, and where in all those years I have never seen an unrighteous verdict in a government case, or in a suit between northern and southern litigants, because of the failure, or misconduct, of a southern jury. (Applause.)

May the day hasten when the southern people may have the

full sympathy and counsel of their northern brethren in all their anxieties, and may they rejoice in the liberty to put behind them their apprehensions for the control of their local governments, and for the safety of their loved ones and their homes. May they feel free to forever break that solidarity on national questions, the greatest menace of the nation. May they regain the substance as well as the form of republican government. May they exercise anew at the ballot box the untrammeled franchises of American freemen, and determine for themselves, upon their merits, the excellence of men, and the rightfulness of measures on which the welfare of the nation depends. These things accomplished, all things making for the happiness of the nation at home and its strength and honor abroad will be added unto us, and the sons forever reunited can join anew in the chorus their fathers loved for

“The union of lakes, the union of lands,
The union of states none can sever;
The union of hearts, the union of hands,
And the flag of our union forever.”

(Prolonged applause.)

After the enthusiastic applause which greeted Judge Speer's address had subsided, the next speaker was introduced by the toastmaster, who said:

Gentlemen of the Club: Eloquence in all ages has adorned and beautified human life, and has in all ages inspired admiration, and inspired men. Added to the address and expression, achievements and experience, truly admirable, and you have a leader of men. Mere speech without character and experience behind it, as the world goes forward in its progress and its busy life and large designs, lacks value, and fails to win sustained attention. An early Chicagoan, whom we all affectionately enjoyed while he lived, was asked his opinion of a rather ostentatious youthful orator, who affected the airs and bearing of some then popular speakers—the large Cæsarean tie, the lionine mane. “What do I think of him?” he said, and withdrawing his Havana, after a long pull which he puffed into rings: “You approach a magnifi-

cent mansion; you open the door; you enter; you find yourself in the back yard." (Laughter.)

When to the utterance performance lends its weight and dignity men listen. Behind the language of the orator, experience, deeds and character speak out. Above the language of the leader, the logic of his life speaks out, to smite his utterance with contradiction or to breathe into it a living soul of power. "For character tells."

"The Orator of the Day." He comes to us as modest as Washington on the day when, in the House of Burgesses of the Virginia Colony, they undertook to thank him for one of his early services. The young lieutenant, stammeringly attempting to say something in reply, stood faltering, confused. "Sit down, Mr. Washington," said the president, "your modesty is equal to your valor." (Applause.) I will not undertake to say in his presence or to Mr. Root how we feel toward him. I believe he knows. We have undertaken to be of some service in public affairs. We, as a club, charge ourselves in this community with something besides selfish conduct. We seek to know the business methods which are pursued in the public business, as in our own businesses. We have learned to-day of one specimen of the conduct of public business in Washington. So far as I have heard you say, gentlemen, the specimen is satisfactory. (Applause.) I shall not attempt to name again those parts of public business which are now a part of history and are a part of the work of our guest. This we know, that as governments of the world have grown since "The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies" were incorporated, the first great English corporation, and just as that business became a government, the businesses of governments have become vast businesses of their people, and their conduct upon right lines is found the conduct of the great business man.

Gentlemen, this day has given us a chapter in our history not before familiar to some of us. I congratulate this club on its usefulness to this community, and to the country, in the procurement of this authoritative and gratifying chapter of history; and I propose the health of the orator of the day, Mr. Elihu Root. (Prolonged cheering and applause.)

The toast having been honored, ex-Secretary Root responded as follows:

Hon. Elihu Root

Mr. Toastmaster, gentlemen of the Union League Club: After engaging your attention for more than an hour this afternoon, it seems to me that I ought this evening to do nothing more than acknowledge the courtesy and the kindness which I knew I should receive at your hands and which has exceeded my anticipations tenfold, and with but few formal words to take my seat. I have not meant, and I do not mean, to make a speech; but I cannot find it in my mind to refrain from saying a few words to you as I would if but a half dozen of us were sitting around the club table, a few words about the things that account for the existence of this club, that account for my being here; a few words about the real significance, the underlying meaning of our presence here together to-night. Why are we joined in a common purpose? What are you to each other aside from your business associations? What are you to me and I to you, apart from a few personal and dear friends whom I have here? Of course, it is because we are Americans; we are patriotic citizens; we love our country. (Applause.) But what does that mean? Is it real? Is it something really a moving power in our lives, or is it perfunctory—something on the surface? I think it is worth while for us occasionally to put that question to ourselves; worth while for us now and then to bring home to ourselves the real meaning of the meetings we attend, of the things we say and the sentiments we applaud; the real meaning of the patriotic expressions that have come with such eloquence from the learned judge who has stepped down from the bench to speak to us to-night, and to consider how far we, each one of us, are carrying into our daily lives the obligation that is correlative to these expressions and to these sentiments.

It has been my fortune for the last few years to study very closely the methods and the fortunes of many republics, of many peoples who have been living under laws framed with the same

apparent and ostensible purpose as our own laws; some people living under constitutions framed upon the model of our own; and to see misrule, lack of confidence, stagnation of all material enterprise, and lack of progress in spiritual things as well as material things; to study the reasons why those peoples fail to realize the blessings that we have enjoyed. The prosperity that we have does not come of itself. The enormous increase of wealth which has made possible the great things done by our country in our lifetime has not come of itself. These things have come because we have had a people who were willing to submit themselves to the control of law; a people who, whatever were their individual interests at the time, whatever were the motives that actuated them at the time, whatever they were interested in at the time, have under it all held up consciously or unconsciously the rule of law, the dominion of justice, the interests of human liberty, the open pathway of individual opportunity as superior to all things else. It has been because the great body of American people have held close to the principles established and illustrated and enforced by the man whom we celebrate to-day, that we are great and prosperous, and powerful in the world. And it has been because a great multitude of men in America have individually and personally promoted those principles, and still hold dearer than our own individual money-making and property-accumulating and pleasure-loving instincts the principles of liberty and justice, that we are the great people that we are. (Applause.)

I said these things do not come of themselves, and they do not continue of themselves. Our prosperity depends upon our continuing the principles that underly it. Each one of us (though he may not attain the fame and distinction and power) is contributing his share toward the prosperity of to-day. And more than that, each one of us is responsible for the continuance of this government of law and liberty which we hope to hand down to our children and our children's children; and it is because of the conscious or unconscious comradeship and fellowship in the promotion of the rule of justice and liberty and law, of freedom upon earth, that we are here good friends together to-night. (Applause.) I am just old enough to remember as a boy in the days before the Civil War how the speeches of our Fourth of July orators rang false, and the talk about the flag and the spread-

ing of the eagle was laughed at and derided, till the day came when the flag, the emblem of American sovereignty, acquired a new meaning, and to the faces that laughed came serious and deep determination to maintain the government that meant so much. The days may come again when those emblems of sovereignty will mean little. Be it our task to see that those days are far distant; not by services which gain public applause; that means little; it is of no worth when the end comes; but by each man's doing his part to perpetuate institutions that give us what we have and make us what we are. And in this great country which received between the census of 1850 and the census of 1900 over 17,000,000 of emigrants from the other side of the Atlantic, over 17,000,000 of men who knew little or nothing of the meaning of American freedom and American law; in this great country, so many millions of whose inhabitants are far removed from the centers of thought and influence, the active, earnest effort of every true American who loves his country, who wishes for his children and his children's children the liberty and justice and opportunity he has enjoyed is due from the beginning to the end of his life. (Applause.)

Within the last few days the world has been startled to admiration by the wonderful dash of the Japanese torpedo fleet. Two lessons we may learn from that. One is that confidence in mere bigness, confidence in the power of numbers and extent of territory, confidence in enormous wealth and old traditions, is ill placed when in the swiftly changing affairs of man a strong and vigorous assailant attacks the citadel which seemed secure. And the other is that the supreme possession of a country is the devotion of its sons. The reason why the little Japanese torpedo boats were able to destroy the power of great Russia on the sea was that the Japanese hold the love of country, the ideal of the state, to a degree that has never been equaled since the days when Rome conquered the world. (Applause.) I remember well when all the world was watching the fate of the beleaguered legations in Pekin, when the rescue from the crowding millions of China, who had gathered about them, seemed hopeless, a little band inadequate in numbers, pressing toward the capital of China, met the strong defenses of Tien Tsin; and when the little force of English and Japanese and Americans assailed that city, a

little Jap swam the moat and placed a mine against the gate and cheerfully blew it up; blew down the gate and blew himself into that heaven where Japanese go. (Laughter and applause.) He went to his death, not with desperation, not merely with stern determination and willingness to sacrifice his life for his country, but he went gladly and joyously, happy if by his poor, single life, he could advance the fortunes of his beloved Japan. (Applause.) That is the patriotism that makes nations great, and it is that spirit that in a day destroyed the sea power of proud Russia. (Applause.) In all our material wealth, in all the selfishness and luxury of these modern days, be it our work to promote that spirit of patriotism, the love of country which holds gold as nothing for the country's sake, among the people of America. (Applause.)

Someone did me the honor not long ago to speak of me as an optimist. I hope I am. I deem pessimism little short of treason. (Applause.) An optimist? Yes. Because I believe in my country. It is not the incidents of life that are significant. In all the history of this imperfect and erring world there will be unfortunate, sad and deplorable incidents. Men will go wrong. Love of gain, ambition, will turn aside public servants from their duty. It is not the incidents of life, it is the tendencies of life that we are to regard. How sets the current? Are we moving toward the goal of high ideals? Are we sinking back from them? That is the important question. The play of the waves tells little. The breaking of successive rolling breakers upon the shore tell us nothing of whether the tide is rising or falling. No matter which way the wave is rolling. Does the tide, the great tide of public morality, the great tide of public conscience, set toward our high ideals? And, marking the course of human affairs on this side of the Atlantic, not comparing what we are and what we do with some ideal standard of perfection, but comparing them with what we were and what we have done in the past, we are to gather the answer to the supreme question—comparing weak and imperfect men of to-day with weak and imperfect men of the century past. If you will study our history, and the lives of our great men, if you will read the records of the first Congress and the first administration, you will find that there has been steady and uninterrupted progress along the upward pathway of Amer-

ican ideals. (Applause.) You will find that the newspapers of to-day, even the yellow journals, bad as they are, are not so bad as those that maligned Washington. You will find that the evils in public life, which are the objects of criticism and of abhorrence by the good people of America to-day, are the things which were passed without comment a half century ago; and the things which were the objects of criticism and abhorrence a half century ago were the things which passed without comment a half century before that. The very things which we criticise, the very denunciations of public life to-day, are evidences of an awakened conscience and advanced morality, because we are criticising the things that but a few years since were not considered reprehensible, or, if they were, did not rise to the dignity of public attention. I believe that there never has been a time when the public morality of America was purer or better than it is to-day, that there never has been a time when the conscience of America has been more sensitive in the rules which it has applied to the conduct of public men. That there never has been a time when public servants responded to a higher standard of obligation in their representation of the people both in executive and in legislative life than to-day. The tendency is rising, the tide sets in the right direction. And how great is the prospect. How noble and elevating are the possibilities of the future. Going through our period of isolation, passing beyond the time of selfishness where we were making our government for ourselves and thinking only of our own interests, there is opening before us the vista of missionary life. I have always thought that there was in the first French Republic an element of nobility never before equaled in human history. Misguided as they often were, untrained as they were in the application of the good and noble principles which they professed, still the men of the first French Republic believed in the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, and they were filled with a noble enthusiasm to carry those principles throughout the earth, as the old missionaries carried the cross through heathen lands. If we believe what we say, if we believe that the free institutions under which we live are adapted to lift up the masses of mankind out of the hard and degraded conditions under which they have lived in all human history, if we believe that the liberty

and justice that prevail under this flag of ours are competent to bless mankind and bring in a day of loftier and happier life for all the world, there opens before us now the opportunity to testify to our belief. (Applause.)

One step we have made in teaching Cuba how to govern herself and starting her under her single star, that represents the aspirations and the struggles of so many a year of sacrifice and of danger. Another step we are making now in trying to train the people of the Philippine Islands in the first lessons of ordered liberty and to teach them how to govern themselves with justice and respect for law. (Applause.) Another lies before us. To show in the isthmus, to the people of Central and South America, the true conception of liberty. Not the liberty under which each man is to grasp all he can of government and government revenues. Not the liberty of constant rebellion and revolution, but the liberty of order and law, the liberty of individual opportunity and regulated power. I believe that the events which will culminate to-morrow in the ratification of the treaty giving us the right to construct the canal across the isthmus will result in setting up for the people of South America a standard of good government, a respect for law, of the application—the practical application—of the principles of liberty and justice, of which they have had no knowledge before; and that the American people will carry to the people of all those southern countries blessings which will come back to us a thousandfold in our own happiness and our own prosperity. (Applause.)

And for all this, it is not the success of to-day's speculation, it is not the building of more palaces and more great public buildings, it is not the accumulation of power, it is not honor and glory among foreign nations; it is the preservation among the people of the United States of the ideals that have made us what we are. All that has made our prosperity is the confidence, the security, the safety, of American institutions. All that will make the prosperity of our children, all that will make possible the continued progress of this greatest instrumentality since the dawn of history for human good, is the preservation of the ideals of individual liberty and equal justice. No man can fail to do his part toward preserving these among his fellow men in America and not be false to his children, false to his own higher interests,

false to his country; and sharing in the hope of promoting these American ideals, I am here your friend, and your friend so long as life lasts. (Prolonged applause and cheering.)

President Heckman: Gentlemen, this is surely a rich day for the Union League Club. It has been said, and with penetration, that the scholar is the real aristocrat of this world. When we think of the history of Dartmouth College, of its relation to this country, the succession of true-hearted, right-minded men whom it has sent to adorn the bench and public and private life and business life, and when I should say that the president of Dartmouth College presents this question (may I add a word?), "What *more* has patriotism the right to demand of education?" Surely old Dartmouth has done much. I hasten to stand aside and let you have the words of Doctor Tucker, the loved and honored president of Dartmouth College, on this interesting theme. (Applause.)



DR. W. J. TUCKER

Dr. W. J. Tucker

I think that you will agree with me, Mr. President and gentlemen, as I say that patriotism cannot be defined in terms of sentiment. Patriotism is obedience. When the duty is instant and definite it means, of course, the surrender of self to country. Patriotism is then an act, involving all the consequences to the individual of an act. But when we cannot satisfy patriotism by an act, then it follows hard after us with its inexorable question as to how we are to conduct ourselves generally, how we are to manage our affairs, how we are to set our ambitions with a view to the good of the country. When patriotism does not speak the language of the imperative, as in times of national peril, its most effective language is the interrogative—How about your business, your influence, your thinking in its every-day bearing on the public welfare?

It is in this spirit that I interpret the question to which I am to speak—What has patriotism the right to demand of education? I accept the question as personal to myself and to men of my business. I do not feel called upon to tell you who are in other kinds of business what patriotism demands of you. Probably if I should attempt the task you might recognize the fitness of three-fourths of what I should say; but criticism, like art, to be effective must be all right, never off key or tone. As a bright woman once said to Mr. Sumner, who in his omniscience was criticising a musical performance, "Why, Charles, what are you talking about; if you should try to sing old hundred you couldn't sing more than seventy-five." (Laughter.)

So, then, as for myself and for men of my kind, what does patriotism demand of us in our business of education, especially of the higher education?

First of all, I should say that patriotism has the right to demand of us that we do our best to keep not only the idea but the fact of democracy free and open to all men. Education is a

leveling-up process. There are other like processes. But some of them have already broken, and are no longer working as formerly upon the lower ranges. The most serious word which has been written in our generation, in so far as it declares a fact, is the opening sentence in the recent book of John Mitchell on Organized Labor: "The average wage-earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-earner." If this be true, whatever may be the cause, then organized industry has ceased to be the aid and helper of democracy. (Applause.) For democracy requires as the first necessity of its existence mobility of condition as opposed to fixity of condition. The moment the average man of any class ceases to aspire, and accepts his condition as fixed, that moment he ceases to express in himself the spirit of democracy.

Turning to education, and especially to the higher education, I find that the leveling-up process is at work here without any break. The mental movement is going on through the ranks of the people, and the path of intellectual progress is open from the lowest place to the highest. There is not a college or a university, so far as I know, however richly it may be endowed, which acknowledges any distinction except that of brains, and which is not, therefore, as much the home of the poor man as of the rich man. (Applause.) Even the incidents of the higher education tend to equalize men. One justification for athletics is that they are tremendously democratic. College estimates and college honors go, as the almost invariable rule, with the man. Indeed, as it seems to me, the interests of the higher education are bound up in democracy. Our colleges and universities must have their recruiting stations everywhere, at every point of mental possibility, otherwise they will be scant in intellectual power. The intellectual life must have its roots in virility. I have had occasion to say elsewhere, it may be proper to say it in your presence, that from an educational point of view it is on the whole easier to make blue blood out of red blood than it is to make red blood out of blue blood. (Applause.) But the higher education cannot afford to ignore intellectual power of any kind—I had almost said of any quality. It needs the powers which come to it through generations of culture, and it needs the powers which come to it fresh from nature. All of which is but saying that education, if true to

its own interests, must keep alive the idea, and keep open and free the fact of democracy; and in so doing it meets and satisfies the first demand of patriotism. (Applause.)

I should put as the second demand of patriotism upon education, a demand which I am by no means sure that we are meeting with the same success as the one which we have considered, that our colleges and universities train men on the side of mental conscience. There are a great many men of good intentions whose consciences never seem to get into their brains. They know how to feel right better than they know how to think right. Or, what is more often the case, they ignore the moral element in their thinking, that is, in their opinions, their plans, their schemes of life. Education is no safeguard against this indifference to honest thinking, unless honest thinking is made an equal element of education with acute thinking.

I quote from a letter which recently fell under my notice, written to a great benefactor of education. "Now and then," says the writer, "quite possibly too often, I find floating through my mind doubts about the purely moral value of so much education as is now being provided for. Nearly every time I mix in business affairs I have the fact forced upon my observation that college graduates are quite as dishonest and as expert sharpers as their less fortunate and more ignorant brothers. I fear that I am gradually being forced to the adoption of a new motto—fewer churches, less learning and more honesty. How do you like it?" That was the impatient, half earnest word of a well-known lawyer, a gallant soldier and reformer, and a lover of books beyond most scholars.

I take the truth which lies in the banter. It is entirely possible to disconnect the processes of thought from their moral consequences. It is really very hard to weave moral fiber into the warp and woof of our thinking. It is harder to be just in our opinions than it is to be accurate in our calculations, but justice toward men means precisely what we mean by accuracy in respect to things. When we treat human nature as we treat nature, the law of gravitation, for example, we are at work very close to the Golden Rule. Respect for our fellow men is, on the whole, the best kind of sympathy. And the indoctrinating of all students into this primary quality is, I believe, one of the chief functions of

the higher education, especially in the training of men for leadership.

There are three training schools amongst us for political leadership, about as far apart as you can space such training, and each school has the danger of its environment. These three training schools are the saloon, business and the college. It is quite useless to ignore the first, when a man of this training has it in his power to-day to dictate the nomination of one of the national parties for the presidency. This dictator is one type of the political leader. It is foolish to overlook the training which creates the type. The saloon is the center of comradeship, and so the place for personal influence, later for personal authority, then for organization, finally for political combination. We think of the sordidness of the surroundings. The real peril lies in the narrowness of the training which inculcates simply loyalty to one's set. The gang is social, the ring is mercenary. The social becomes the mercenary through its narrowness. Honor does not extend to the outside man. The interests of a city or of the nation do not enter into the sphere of thought, except in the rare circumstance when a leader extricates himself from the mental condition of his political training.

In quite a different way we may come to suffer in our thinking for the best ends of the state from the mental environment of business. We may come to see things more clearly and in larger proportion than we see men, and so to act and legislate for things rather than for men. The opening of markets is a great civilizing agency, in some instances the greatest, but if pushed without regard to local condition it may mean the closing of markets. The flooding of India with foreign goods has driven the native people back into agriculture. It constitutes a grievance which makes Britsh rule there still one of the uncertainties of the long future.

In still another way the academic mind may fail to make its proper contribution to the state. When men say that a question is academic they mean, of course, that it is not yet worth the attention of the street. There is not much danger to-day that the academic mind of this country will not adjust itself to the ways of the world. The greater danger lies in the fact that the adjustment is apt to take place too early in the process of training. In the change in such large degree of the subject-matter of the higher

education to subjects of immediate utility, the moral element seems to have been relegated to a second place in modern education. There can be no doubt but that success is a word nearer to education than it used to be, and that duty is a more remote word. Success is, of course, the cheaper word. It is cheapening our generation, which, but for that, would be one of the very greatest generations in the world's history. The moral problem of education is how to get the thought of duty well set in the whole process of mental training. I think that we are gaining, because we are coming to understand that the morality of the intellect is not altogether a question of the subject on which the intellect is exercised, and we are also learning that in so far as the subject is material to moral training, we have in the matter of modern education subjects of the most vital concern to human life. If the old education led us to think of man, the new leads us to think of men, and right thinking toward men ought to serve the uses of the state quite as much as right thinking about man. (Applause.)

There is one other demand which patriotism has the right to make upon education is a more marked degree, perhaps, than upon anything else, viz., that it should give distinction to the national character. No one is satisfied, in thinking of his country, with the commonplace. You cannot so enlarge the idea, you cannot give it such bulk and volume as to gain the quality of distinction. We want to have fine things attach themselves to our national reputation. We want to feel that the capacity for fine things is in us as a people. There is no American of to-day who is not secretly, if not openly, proud of the fact that the nation can produce a man capable of guiding its diplomacy in the politics of the world, or a man capable of the new and strange work of ruling a great dependency with justice, or a man capable of reorganizing its military service to the last demands of the national power. These are not exhibitions of the commonplace. They are outside the commonplace and above it. They are on the plane of distinction. (Applause.)

I am far from saying that education is the only source or measure of the capacity of the people for doing fine things. The capacity when individualized declares itself with the unexpectedness of genius. There is not an industry or trade or business or

calling of any honest sort which may not at any moment show a man, or put forth an act bearing the mark of distinction, and yet, say what we will, we all know that the lasting distinction of a people lies in its power to think great thoughts and to leave them as the endowment of the race. It is intellectual power applied to high themes or to high ends which can alone satisfy the finer demands of patriotism. On my last visit to England I chanced to go into the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is not bigger, as some of you will recall, than a department library in a great university, but as the curator took me from alcove to alcove and uncovered in order, first the manuscript of Lord Bacon's *Novum Organum*, and then the manuscript of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and then the manuscript of Newton's *Principia*, and then a canto of Byron's *Childe Harold*, and then Tennyson's *in Memoriam*, and then Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*—all the product of one college in one university—I said to myself, "England may multiply her wealth and increase her navy and expand her empire, and she will still *live* in the names which will outlive her power." Turning to our own country, the surprising thing about our academic training is the variety of its intellectual product, sometimes in the same college, sometimes in the group. I represent a little group of old-time colleges, which illustrates, as many another group might, this variety of intellectual power of which I am speaking. One of my neighbors gave us Hawthorne and Longfellow, and a little later Tom Reed and Chief Justice Fuller. Another gave us Emerson, Holmes and Lowell and two Presidents; another Storrs and Beecher; another Garfield and Armstrong; another Olney and Hay; and my own of a somewhat different order still, Thad Stephens, Salmon P. Chase, Rufus Choate and Webster. These all, even those who are living, were the product of the old training. They antedate in their training the modern university. Out of the rising universities will come the same results and more, not great men alone, but great discoveries, the reëndowment of the nation with the new wealth of science.

When Phillips Brooks preached his memorable Fourth of July sermon in Westminster Abbey he said that the cry of one nation to another the world over was: "Show us your man." That is the cry which ought to run as a challenge from every part of the

working life of the nation to every other part, from industry to commerce, from commerce to education, from education to religion, and back again. The man whom we should like to show, we who are in the business of education, is the man great, not as he separates himself from other men, but great as he is able to take up the most of other men into himself, type in himself of a true democracy; great also because he is not unwilling, or afraid, or unable to put his conscience into all his mental operations; and great again by the distinction of quality, with a capacity for saying or doing things with the unmistakable fineness of power. I do not expect that we shall overwhelm the country in any department of its life with this type of men, but I do think that we shall meet our obligations to the country and come a little nearer to this end, as we try to carry on the business of education as a patriotic duty, under the incitement of days like these. (Applause.)

At the close of Dr. Tucker's address the meeting adjourned.

UNION LEAGUE CLUB

CHICAGO

EXERCISES IN COMMEMORATION

OF THE

BIRTHDAY OF WASHINGTON

FEBRUARY TWENTY-SECOND

1905





UNION LEAGUE CLUB

CHICAGO



Exercises in Commemoration

OF THE

Birthday of Washington

February twenty-second
Nineteen hundred and five



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MORNING EXERCISES

ORCHESTRA HALL, HALF AFTER TEN O'CLOCK

JUDGE CHARLES S. CUTTING, PRESIDING

ORGAN SELECTION

COLUMBIA, THE GEM OF THE OCEAN—D. T. SHAW

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS—JUDGE CHARLES S. CUTTING

CHORUS—COLUMBIA—HADLEY
HIGH SCHOOL CHORUS

ADDRESS
HIGH STANDARDS OF HONOR IN THE BUSINESS WORLD
DR. GEORGE A. GATES

CHORUS—STAR SPANGLED BANNER
F. S. KEYES

ADDRESS—WHAT MAKES A PATRIOT
MR. E. A. PADDOCK

SONG—THE BOYS OF THE OLD BRIGADE—PARKS
GLEE CLUB OF R. T. CRANE MANUAL TRAINING SCHOOL
MR. O. E. ROBINSON, DIRECTOR

AMERICA

ORGAN POSTLUDE

MR. H. W. FAIRBANK, MUSICAL DIRECTOR

MORNING EXERCISES

The celebration of Washington's birthday by the Union League Club was inaugurated by the usual morning meeting for young people, which this year was held in Orchestra Hall.

After a selection had been played on the organ, the High School choir, under the direction of H. W. Fairbank, sang "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean."

Judge Charles S. Cutting, who presided over the meeting, at the close of the singing said:

The Union League Club of the City of Chicago believes that as an engineer who is called upon to run a line, either for the construction of a railway or a canal, straight through the country, must necessarily at times take back sights in order that its progress may be correct, so in the progress of this great country of ours we believe that we must look backward occasionally to see that our progress is along the right line. If any of you have ever been on the Pacific Coast of this country and have been so favored as to take that magnificent ride upon the Columbia River which leads from the mouth of the Willamette to the place where the water breaks its way through the cascades, on your backward trip you will remember that as you were enclosed by the gorge you saw nothing but the big clouds on either side, but when you emerged from it there gradually arose upon the eastern horizon a great pyramid crowned with eternal snow, upon the top of which the sun shone, and as you approached the end of your journey that mountain seemed to rise higher and higher until it dominated and controlled the landscape. You looked with pleased eyes upon the evidence of prosperity on every hand; you heard the whistle of the locomotive; you saw the smoking chimneys; you appreciated the fact that from a wilderness in a short generation great cities had risen, but inevitably your eyes turned back to that grand pyramid of Mount Hood which controlled all the landscape. So we in this day and generation looking upon all the evidences

of prosperity that are with us, look back again upon that magnificent personality, that grand and dominating presence which we know as the character and life work of George Washington. In view of that, looking as we do with the mind's eye today upon it, we inaugurate these ceremonies. (Applause.)

The chorus then sang "Columbia."

Judge Cutting: The Union League Club presents to the citizens of Chicago this afternoon a distinguished speaker from the far East. To you this morning we present one from the far West; and I have the honor of introducing to you at this time Dr. George A. Gates, one time president of Grinnell College, Iowa, now president of Pomona College, at Claremont, California, who will address you upon the exceedingly appropriate subject of "High Standards of Honor in the Business World." (Applause.)

DR. GEORGE A. GATES

Mr. President and Fellow Students: I cannot imagine why the Union League Club of a little village like Chicago (laughter) should find it necessary when they want a genuinely good speech made, or two of them, to come out into the alkali and the sage brush for men like Dr. Paddock and myself. (Laughter.) Have you nobody in Chicago that can make speeches? I heard a man try here a minute ago. (Laughter.) No, no, you laughed too quick; I was about to say, "and succeed." (Laughter.)

But that is merely paying my respects, for I shall myself respect and pay honor to the invitation of this club, and do you the courtesy of believing that you are assembled here for an earnest purpose. I have no time to waste over trivial matters. I can imagine hardly any greater insult to the great man whose name this celebration bears, than that we should waste in mere entertainment an occasion of this kind. Therefore, if you will forgive a preacher by nature, for speaking earnestly, if he needs any forgiveness for it, I shall proceed at once to discuss one or two points that seem to me worthy of the attention of the young men and women of this time and this place.

Time: In general the beginning of a great new century; in particular, this day, the reason for celebrating which you know too well for me to need to speak. Place: If the town where you mostly have your citizenship is to do the work which a great nation, founded by that great man more than by any other one man—if this town is to take its place and do its work, it must recognize pretty soon more and more the prevalence of high standards in that department of the world's work where I take it nine-tenths of the young men who are before me will confine themselves in their future life. That is one reason why I chose my theme this morning. I am perfectly well aware that I am speaking now to those who will become business men, for nine-tenths of you will eventually go into that line of work and ac-

tivity. And that is largely true also, more than it ever was in any other age, of the world of young women. The young woman of today is more independent, and so when I speak of the young men going into business, that includes all the rest of the people.

And in business the West has at least done one thing, it has said to the citizens of America that the girls and boys shall have equal chances; not only in our public schools but in our great colleges and universities.

But now to take up my theme more distinctly, "High Standards of Honor in the Business World." You have heard of that principle once where you have heard of its opposite, I venture to say, a hundred times. Now that is another reason why I chose my theme. But in speaking to it, let me call your attention to the fact that I do not forget that there never was a time in the history of the world when there was graver dishonor, more fundamental dishonor, in places low and high, some of which performances are laying the ax at the root of the tree of modern civilization, and I yield to no man in my consciousness of that. In my time I have done some writing and talking on that line, but this morning I leave that to one side, only begging you to remember that I do not forget it; the rank and awful and hideous dishonors with which our business world is filled. Enough for that.

This morning I have chosen to speak on the opposite side. Particularly calling upon you to recognize the fact and also calling upon you to work toward the bringing on of a time when high standards shall prevail in the great world of business. There never was an age that honored its business men as they are honored today. There never was a country that honored business success as our country honors it. The French have a phrase, "Noblesse oblige," opportunity is obligation. This country honors its business men and their success and that kind of success. Turn it around. It loads the whole of its pack onto the business world and says, "You stand up to the high honor that we give you."

Oh, the other side, how well we know it! You are to sing a hymn here this morning. I do not make any apology for my direct and personal reference. I wish that every young man who ever is tempted to think that business success depends upon

being a little smarter and getting ahead of some other fellow would hear my story. The hymn we are to sing is written by a venerable man now dead. I knew him as a venerable man a great many years, S. F. Smith. I have visited him as a guest; he has been a guest in my house. I knew him well. The son of that man lived for twenty-five or thirty years in a great city by yonder great river, the Mississippi, and was honored by that city in every respect in which a municipality can honor one of its men. He held several offices; was Mayor of the city, I think, more than once; stood high in church and town; universally respected for a quarter of a century. Oh, I know men say it happened all of a sudden, and that is a lie; it never does. It transpired that for twenty-five years that man, honored and trusted by widows and orphans, had been systematically and deliberately and diabolically robbing them, and today that man sits behind prison bars in the penitentiary of that goodly state of Iowa to spend probably the last years of his life dishonored in the eyes of a great nation, that, lo, these many years, has been paying its tribute of respect to his father, who gave us our great national hymn. I look a little further, and I see there are forty banking defalcations in that state of Iowa in one year. Oh, I know these dishonors, and I know too well. That is not my theme mainly. Just to get the contrast clearly and keenly before us.

But now let me call your attention to the fact that there are in the world today stiffer demands for technical honor in business transactions than ever before. I am fond of telling that story of the old Quaker down in New England. This old Quaker was a manufacturer of iron, mainly bolt, and he made those bolts so good that they had a national reputation. A salesman of his went away out in the West somewhere and got into an altercation with one of his customers over a bill, and they argued it out, and the salesman knew the man was wrong. But finally he said: "Never mind, sir; pay the bill according to your statement of it, and we will settle it up." "All right, there is my check. Now, sir, I am ready to give my order for \$10,000 worth of bolts next year." Then that little modest salesman swelled himself up with the honor of his Quaker house and said: "Sir, you have obtained the last bolt that your firm can ever have of mine. I bid you good day." The salesman went home to this dignified

old Quaker, sitting in his office, and reported what he had done. He had broken with one of the best customers that the firm ever had, and he told his employer the story in fear and trembling, thinking, perhaps, that he would lose his position, but ready to lose his position if he had to, for he would save his soul meantime, and he told the old man that story. The old Quaker in his mild way, said: "Young man, if thou hadst done any differently I would have kicked thee." (Laughter.)

Another Quaker firm a little while ago—the Quakers don't believe in war, God bless them—got an order or a request for a bid from our government on a lot of navy material, and the reply was delicate and courteous. "It is against the principles of our religion to provide any supplies that are directly in the interests of war, in which we do not believe. We desire to do business, but even for that government which we loyally serve we cannot depart from our principles, and we offer no bid." Oh, young men and women, if we can have thousands and hundreds of thousands of business firms in this land who will stand by their principles, I do not care whether they agree with those I have just stated or not, that is not the point, but have principles and stand by them when it costs them something to stand by them, then the world of business can be redeemed from its charge of dishonor.

And the world is full of such incidents. I talked with a lawyer yesterday. I said: "Is it true or is it not true that in this great rushing city of Chicago there is an increasing demand for higher standards of honor in the business world?" He said: "You cannot say it with too great emphasis, that any young man who is going into a profession like mine, to be an advocate or an adviser, or who is going into business, can make no more stupid blunder than to think success is to be won on any other principle than the straight, old-fashioned principle of right. Why," he said, "a man who will tell the truth can do more business in five minutes than a liar can in three hours, because you are dodging him all the time. Give us a basis and we can go on and do things." That was the lawyer's argument. I asked a business man if he found it true in his business, and he said: "More and more. A young man who comes to me and offers as a recommendation that he is shrewd and keen and can beat the other

man, can have no place in my office. I want a young man in my office who is frank and open-eyed and will tell the truth. If he loses a trade, that doesn't make any difference, because he will get ahead in the long run, though he may lose one trade, if he will tell the truth.

And yet you will find the world is full of young men who think that success is to be won—and I am talking to hundreds of them this morning who are going to make that blunder in spite of all we can say or do, all that the teachers of Chicago can tell you or the preachers or the mothers and fathers or anybody else—you are going to make that foolish blunder of thinking that business success will depend upon your being shrewd and sharp and getting ahead of the other fellow. I plead for a recognition of the fact that even in strange circles you will find a demand for high standards of honor. Put a play on a stage down in the slums where the gallery gods are—ten cents a seat—and put on that stage a play whose finale depends upon the success of a villain, and I would hate to be the actor before that crowd of gallery gods who took the part of the villain. I tell you there is no crowd on earth that will applaud more quickly or more highly the success of plain old-fashioned right than those same little gamins of the gutter. They will not tolerate the triumph of iniquity.

I was talking with a gambler once—I didn't mean to confess that, I don't know how he found me—and I said: "You ought to be ashamed of yourself. You are a dishonest scoundrel!" Well, that remark didn't please him. I don't know why. And then I explained what I understood gambling to be, a mean attempt to get money for nothing out of somebody else. "Why," said he, "you idiot—" and that wasn't complimentary, either, but I was willing to be called idiotic in regard to knowledge of gambling, "why," he said, "don't you understand that men like myself are just as proud of their honor in their profession as you are of yours?" "What on earth do you mean?" "I mean what most any man would mean who uses that language." And I was snubbed again. But he went on to tell me that there are honest gamblers and scoundrel gamblers. This man held himself up with pride, feeling that he always gave people in his gambling hell a square deal. And we have taken that phrase up and

our President has consecrated it to high uses forevermore. (Deal is a word, I believe, that goes with gambling; I don't know.) Now that gambler told me the truth. I found out that I was ignorant, that the honest gambler who deals a square game is just as proud of his honor as I am proud of mine or you of yours. I am not commanding the gambler; no one will misunderstand me; but I am saying that the little scamp off the streets who will do almost any meanness will demand on the stage in a public place, where there is public recognition, the triumph of righteousness. The gambler will demand it. I cannot go into it this morning, because it would be misunderstood, perhaps, but I tell you that gambling in high places in this world among stockbrokers—and there are just as honorable stockbrokers as there are ministers, don't misunderstand me; but there is gambling there, too (you needn't misunderstand that, either), but there is just as high a demand for technical honor in great transactions whose essential nature is gambling in the great business affairs of the world, just as high a demand there as anywhere else. Everywhere else, in the gallery gods, among the bummers, in the high places, you will find an ever-growing, stricter demand for technical, exact truth telling and honor. You come out into Mr. Paddock's country out there in the mountains (I live where it is civilized, on the coast of the Pacific) but out in the mountains you go into places where there is gambling and you try a trick over that gambling table which you can work on the stock exchange of Chicago, and your answer will be a bullet in your heart, and no coroner's inquest. They haven't time.

I am simply saying that everywhere in human affairs there is a recognition of the rightful claim of a technical high standard of honor. Now, that is coming more and more, and one reason why it is coming is this: Formerly when business consisted merely of a little barter between a man and his neighbor across the street, it did not make much difference to the world at large whether a man was honest or not, but when the world's affairs are getting corporated and syndicated (and there is no objection to those things provided they will do right) the tendency of the world being to bring all the business of the world together and putting it into the hands of a few, and more and more to combine in one great central organization and center of power, then

the man who is dishonest disorganizes the whole system, you cannot afford to have or utilize dishonor, untruthfulness, unreliability, lack of confidence in conditions which are coming more and more to prevail in the great business world. That is the reason why honor must be recognized more and more as the only foundation upon which any successful business can by any possibility be built up.

Now, young men and women, that is practically all I have to say. I would like to talk three or four hours, but you will be getting hungry, and Mr. Paddock wants a little time for himself. I don't think he is going to make a very good speech (laughter), but he is on the program, so I am not going to take very much of your time beyond what I have taken only to bring the whole matter up onto this plane of appeal. I hear people talk about patriotism, and sometimes I have made a great oath that I never again would use that word patriotism, for there was no truer word ever spoken than that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel except this, which is truer, that it is usually the first. I have been so filled with wrath at hearing a public speaker get up and make a great noise about patriotism when I knew him to be a scoundrel who had not the first conception of what the word meant, and had no idea of practicing it if he ever could, that I have said I would never use it again, and I am not using it except to apologize for it.

You young men and women who are going into business by and by are going to start out with the notion that it is your business to get ahead of somebody else. Oh, boys, if you could get over that idea you would begin to live. I read advice in the magazines about how to get ahead of other men. That is the teaching that is being put before the boys of America, and I stand here to pronounce a curse upon it, the curse of God and of human industry. Point me to the great men of history. Were they men who devoted their entire energy to getting ahead of somebody else? To drawing great salaries? What salaries? Take Martin Luther. What salary did he get? What salary did St. Francis of Assisi get? (Not to mix up your religions, because I appeal to all.) What salary did Moses get? What salary did Abraham Lincoln get? I don't wonder you laugh. I would, except that you ought to weep at the stupidity of asking

any such questions. Why do we honor Washington? Because he made a business success of it and got a living? Oh, well, if all these great men on earth were there for the purpose of what nine—a small fraction of you think you are in the world for—to get a living, it seems to me they ought to withdraw from the field of human kind and say farewell to all honor and virtue and right, and ought to leave humanity and join the ranks of those who are here to get a living, namely, the pig and the goose and the oyster and the angle worm. (Laughter.) They all get a living. Is that all there is to it? Is that why we honor our great men? Get ahead of somebody else? We want to be patriotic; we want to have our nation the head of the world; we want to let it ride over other people; we want to set our feet on their necks and hold them down. Do we? Do you think you are going to be rich in your business because your neighbor is poor? God forbid. We have two great universities on the Pacific Coast, Stanford and Berkeley. Berkeley was small and poor and weak and struggling, and along came a woman who spent \$30,000,000 to build another university a few miles away. Berkeley said, "We are ruined." And now there are ten students in Berkeley where there was one before. Why? Stanford made Berkeley by being big and strong itself; it helped its neighbor to be big and strong, and you in the business world, you fools, you will find it out; on the street here business men think and act as if it were their business to make themselves great and strong and rich by pulling down their neighbors. That never was done since the world began, never. And that is just as true in business as it is true anywhere else, and woe be to this nation if we dishonor the memory of the great man whose name is in our minds today. Woe be unto us if our statesmen get it into their heads and teach it to their children and put it into their laws and transactions that the business of the United States is to get ahead of every other nation in the world. Why, suppose it could. Suppose we had power over every other nation on earth. What would we do immediately then? Turn around and devote our whole energy, missionary fashion, if you please, to leading other nations up to the level where we were? I know, boys and girls, that that is high philosophy. I know you will find it advocated out on the street. But it won't be the first time

in the world that men on the street have called us educators and moralists and doctrinaires, fools to our faces, and so on, and in fifty years proved that they themselves were it and we were right. Now, that is no bit of pride. I simply say that the men who stand for ideals of generosity, truth, righteousness, honor, high standing everywhere, are the men who have made the world what it is. It never was any other way. It never can be.

Two points more and I have done. America thinks it has a patent on immortality. You will hear the phrase that Providence has a special care over fools and the United States. Well, now, ladies and gentlemen, that is not so. Providence does not care any more about America than it cares about some other nation of which you have read—of Abyssinia—well, take the other crowd, of Assyria, and Babylon, and Greece, and Rome, all the great nations that have been wiped off the face of the earth. Why? Simply because they failed to stand up to the demands of God Almighty, who builds a civilization on earth upon high standards of righteousness in the every-day affairs of man. That is why and that is the only reason. They were rich enough; that was not the point. It is necessary that America should remember one thing, necessary that it should do the will of God. If it won't do that America will be wiped off the face of the earth, just as the other great nations have been. One word more, and I have done.

Do you think that this world is going to be managed by mere riches? No. You young men who are making good resolutions and saying, "I will fight it out, I will be a decent man in spite of everything," look out. You are going to fall if you don't look out. Your temptations will overthrow you. I don't say don't make good resolutions in regard to this world of business into which you have got to go out. The more of them the better. But woe be to the man or the woman who expects to build up his or her life on the mere negative resolution, "I will not do this, that or the other." I am not afraid the boy will do what he is told not to do. The temptation I am afraid of is he will lazily say, "I will not do that which I ought not to do." If you expect to win under any other principle than taking in your heart and life a mighty passion, you are doomed already. Young friends, this world is saved, always has been, is now and always will be,

not by a constitution, not by government, not by law, not by right; this world is saved by one thing, that is passion. George Washington had a passion for his country, for liberty, for love of his countrymen. The soul of him was moved with it until he gave himself to it. Every one of you will give yourselves up to some passion. Passion is the law of your life. The only question is what shall be that passion? Oh, boys and girls of the coming generation, upon whose shoulders must rest this country's welfare, in the days immediately ahead, I plead with you to give yourselves up in the surrender of a mighty confidence to the passion for right, so that when you come to die you may be like that old Scotchman who had fought for the right all his life and on his dying bed was heard to murmur, as his spirit left him, "Right, right, right." So, murmuring that word of words, the soul of the old Scotchman passed. God help us that we may join the company of those whose souls have been on fire with the love of their country, with a passion for right which can redeem this world and yet will redeem it. (Applause.)

The chorus then sang the "Star Spangled Banner."

Judge Cutting: I have the honor of presenting to you the second speaker of the day, President E. A. Paddock, of the Idaho Industrial Institute, who will speak to us on the subject, "What Makes a Patriot."

MR. E. A. PADDOCK

I esteem it the greatest honor of my life to speak to the coming patriots of these United States. How many of you study geography? Raise your hands.

(A very few raised their hands.)

How many of you can tell me what country lies north of Idaho?

(The only boy who mustered up courage to respond said "Kansas." Upon President Paddock giving them a second chance, another boy guessed "Montana."

Idaho reaches clear up to Canada, to the British possessions. Now, we have school children in Idaho, but we have not as fine places for them to attend school as you have in this great city of Chicago. They are gathered oftentimes in shack school houses. Do you know what a shack is? Why, it is a house that is board and batten. Now, the little fellows come in, if it is a warm day, as still as you came into this room on this carpet. They never had a carpet and never will. How do you suppose they did it? They were barefooted, every mother's son and daughter. Clothes do not make a patriot.

Let me describe to you a little Idaho schoolboy's rig. He has a new pair of pants, and they were made out of his papa's old ones. They were made out of a bag, so they would be strong. His little shirt is made out of his mamma's old calico dress. The Idaho boy is like the Chicago boy. He breaks the buttons off the band. But your Idaho boy is a genius. He has a buckskin string about so long. He pulls out his jackknife and punches a hole through that end of it, and then that end of it, and then he takes the band of his pants and punches a hole through the band and sticks the end of the buckskin through the hole and sticks in a shingle nail and pulls it up tight. (Laughter.)

Clothes don't make a patriot. You get some of those poorly dressed fellows and you will find that they are just as strong patriots as you raise in your brown stone fronts, and I am not sure

but they are a little stronger. Wealth does not make a patriot. One of your Eastern boys came out to our country, among the cowboys. Now, he had been sowing "wild oats"—I wonder what that is—(laughter) down here in your Eastern country. And his father said: "Here, you take this \$20,000, and you skip and don't show yourself again until you came back a man." Well, he came out to our country. As might be expected, his \$20,000 was very soon gone, and he was like that other prodigal, he began to be in want. A lawyer friend of the father found him without money, and ruined physically, in a low place, and wrote to a friend of the father's of his condition, and said: "For God's sake, have this boy, for the sake of his father and mother, taken out of here." In some way he was brought back to this eastern country, taken into a great stone mansion, whose owner had millions of dollars, to die, to rot. I believe that that father would have changed places with his coachman, if he could have had a boy that was pure and clean, instead of that besotted wretch. Money does not make a patriot.

The thing that makes the patriot, boys and girls, in the last analysis, is character. He is the greatest patriot who has the best character. He is the true patriot who does right because it is right, and cannot be swerved from it by all the influences that can be brought to bear upon him.

Now, this great nation is strong in proportion as it has men and women of character. It is weak in proportion as it has men and women that have not character. The sum of the strength of our great nation that we love is totaled up in the sum of the character, true, and noble and clean, that we find in this country.

Now, I want you to remember that, and I am going to give you a double cinch. Do you know what that is? Our cowboys out in our country wouldn't ride one of the saddles that you used to ride around this town. They have a double cinch; they have a cinch in front and a cinch behind, and I will tell you why. They have attached to the horn of the saddle a lariat. Yonder is a wild steer. Away he goes. He swings that lariat around; there it goes, right over the horns of that steer. Now, what happens? That broncho stops dead still. When the clack comes out the steer's head goes to the ground, and over he goes. Now,

the other end of that lariat was attached to the horn of that saddle. But for the double cinch the saddle would have come off, the cinch would have been broken, and the man and horse possibly killed. Now, if I can get you to see this through your eye as well as to hear it with your ears, I will have a double cinch on you. (Laughter.) And I am going to give you a double cinch in an object lesson I have for you.

I went down the other day to one of your rope firms and I got a piece of rope like that. That is a strong rope. What makes it strong? The individual fibres in that rope make it strong. If one of those little fibres is weak, then the rope is by so much weakened. If they are all weak, the rope is good for nothing. It will not hold a steer; it will not hold a ship; it will not hold anything. So it is with the government. Each one of you is an individual fibre of this great rope of government. If it is a mighty, strong rope that cannot be broken, and that will hold anything, then it is because each little fibre is strong. It is because every one in its place is doing its duty and helping to make up the strength of all.

Now, here are several strands twisted together; you may call that, if you please, a community. That community is strong if each individual member of that community is strong. Each one of us has the honor (and a greater honor never existed in this world) of being one fibre in that great, mighty cable of this government. Can you think of an honor greater than that? And what this government represents twenty-five years hence will be what you make it. Are you laying up a character that may make you a strong part of this government, upon whom we can rely? One that will help make the whole strong and invincible? That is the question that worries the teachers; that is the question that worries the parents; that is the question that worries the preachers. And strong as you make yourself as a fibre, you make your own character, and has not everything been done that human wisdom and infinite wisdom combined could do to help you to make the best possible characters? Was there ever a place or time on this earth when character could be made so noble, so true, and so strong as in this very country of ours? So then remember, you are one fibre in that rope of government. If the government is strong, it will be because you are strong insofar

as your influence goes. If it is weak, it will be weak because you are weak. Do you steal? You are a weak fibre. Do you lie? Do you cheat? Are you dishonorable in any way? Is your character rotten? Are you two-faced? Then you are a weak fibre, and not worthy to be in the rope of this great government. So then, do not forget that you, every one of you, is a fibre in this government, and see to it that you build up strong characters.

Now, I am going to tell you a story that you will remember a hundred years. You will remember the story longer than you do me, and that is what I want you to do. Once upon a time—you know everything happened once upon a time (laughter)—once upon a time there were three little fishes that lived in a nice little pool. And the three fishes had names. The name of the first fish was "Wise-Before-the-Time," the name of the second fish was "Wise-at-the-Time," and the name of the third fish was "Wise-After-the-Time." Now, one day a man came along and saw these fish in that pool, and he said: "What! three nice fish there? Well, the water is getting down where they got in, and I will catch them when they can't get out. Now, Wise-Before-the-Time heard this man say this, and he hurried to Wise-at-the-Time and Wise-After-the-Time and said: "There was a man here today and he said the water was getting so low we could not get out of here pretty soon. Let's get out right away." But Wise-at-the-Time and Wise-After-the-Time just laughed at him and they said: "Go ahead if you want to, and we will have the pool to ourselves." So Wise-Before-the-Time said: "I am going to get out of here," and so he started, and his back fin stuck up out of the water, but he got over the riffle and got out. And so the next day the man came along and he looked into the pool and saw that one fish had gone. "What!" said he, "only two fish here! Well, I will catch them; they cannot get away." And so Wise-at-the-Time came to Wise-After-the-Time and told him what the man had said, and, said Wise-at-the-Time: "I am going to get out of here." But Wise-After-the-Time only laughed and said: "Well, go ahead, and I will have the whole pool to myself." And so Wise-at-the-Time started for the riffle, and his fin stuck up and he liked to get drowned getting out, but he got through the riffle finally and out of the pool. So next day the man came along and saw only one fish there, and so he said: "Well, I will

get him," and so he put his hand into the shallow pool that was left and threw Wise-After-the-Time out onto the grass, and every time he flopped and floundered there he wished he had gone out with Wise-Before-the-Time or Wise-at-the-Time.

Now, you see the moral of that, and I want to illustrate it. The other day I was in a suburb of Chicago that they call New York (laughter), and a little boy came along with papers under his arm, crying out, "Paper, paper, paper." Now, what did he do? He saw something in the gutter, and he got down and picked it up; it was about an inch long and dirty on one end, and had been burned on the other. He brushed the dirt off and put the end that was not burned in his mouth, and then he fished out a match and lighted it, and what do you suppose it was? A cigarette! Now, you can't make a good patriot if you destroy yourselves with cigarettes. Now, then, be Wise Before the Time—at least, be Wise at the Time, not later than At the Time. I went to another place in New York State, Elmira, and in that place there is a reformatory with 1,250 young men in it between the ages of eighteen and thirty years, and every one of them had committed a state's prison offense; and every one of those young men was there because he was Wise After the Time. You must be Wise Before the Time, or at least Wise at the Time, or it will be too late, and you cannot be a strong fibre in this government which we are today honoring.

Now, I know that is a hard thing to do, but I am going to tell you how to do it. A noted man in this city was walking along the street with his little daughter, and it was slippery and icy, so he said to her: "Look out, now; you will slip. Hadn't I better take hold of your hand?" "Oh, no," said the little girl, "I won't slip." But a little while after she struck a slippery spot and, of course, she fell down. "Now," he said, "don't you think I had better take you by the hand?" "Oh," she said, "I think if you would hold out one of your fingers and let me take hold of it that I can hold on all right." So he held out his finger and she took hold of it, and by and by she came to another slippery place, and her little feet went out from under her and she couldn't hold onto the finger, and down she went again. He picked her up again, and he said: "Don't you think now I had better take hold of your hand?" "Yes, I think you had better

take hold of my hand," and she put her little hand in his strong hand. Do you suppose she slipped again? Yes, she did. Do you suppose she fell? No, she did not. Why, didn't she fall? Her father was strong enough to keep her from falling; that is the reason.

So I say unto you children, the future fibres of this nation, if you want to have true character, and if you want to be patriots, and be such as the world will be glad to honor, put your hand in the fathers' hand and keep it there, and you will be happy yourself, and you will bless the government in which you live, and with such fibres this government will stand forever." (Applause.)

The morning exercises were then concluded by the singing of "America."

AFTERNOON EXERCISES

ORCHESTRA HALL, THREE O'CLOCK

PROGRAM

SELECTION

BY THE 27TH INFANTRY BAND FROM FORT SHERIDAN

INVOCATION

REV. DR. JAMES S. STONE

SELECTIONS

BY THE BAND

INTRODUCTION

MR. ALEXANDER A. MCCORMICK, PRESIDENT OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

ORATION

"POLITICS AS A PROFESSION"

DR. HENRY S. PRITCHETT

AMERICA

MR. HERBERT L. WATEROUS, PRECENTOR

AFTERNOON EXERCISES

At the close of the invocation, delivered by the Rev. Dr. James S. Stone, after a selection rendered by the Fort Sheridan band, President Alexander A. McCormick introduced the orator of the day, Dr. Henry S. Pritchett. Mr. McCormick said:

The Union League Club honors itself today in honoring the memory of George Washington. It is well for us to pause in the midst of our busy life and consider for a moment the priceless blessing which this man has conferred upon us, and which we today enjoy. As a nation we are happy, prosperous and at peace with the world. There are, to be sure, those who feel that our progress is not as rapid as it should be, and there are those, too, who believe that we might go more slowly to advantage. Between the stagnant pool of unintelligent contentment and the rushing rapids of restless discontent is the gently moving wholesome river of progress, carrying us on its bosom toward the great sea of our hope and of our heart's desire.

When we contemplate the sublime character and devoted patriotism of Washington we not only receive new inspiration, revived courage and a higher sense of civic duty, but we also get a new perspective on those obligations which are ours by virtue of the privileges of citizenship. If there are those who are discontented, I ask them to compare their state with that of the people of Russia. There is a blind and blundering way without intelligent leadership, a nation is striving and struggling and praying for what we freely enjoy. We have a President, careful and anxious, not only to preserve but to extend our blessings, as our forefathers followed a President who had fought for and first secured them for us.

Washington had the singular, quality of great leadership coupled with a fine appreciation of the essence of democracy. He instinctively knew that a leader either in war or in peace, who achieves independence for a nation, has no greater rights than

the common soldier or the common citizen. Washington's America differed from Caesar's Rome and Napoleon's France—and has endured—because it was based on equality of rights. When Harry Lee declared that George Washington was first in war, and first in peace, he expressed the contemporary judgment of a devoted friend. He little foresaw that more than a century after his death posterity would not only confirm this judgment but would still regard the civil administration of our first President as unexcelled.

After Washington retired from the army to private life, which he so much enjoyed, he entered political life only upon the insistent demand of the people. But having entered upon it, he gave his whole time and his whole thought to serve the country which had called him to be its leader. He completed, as President, an honorable political career which had begun in his youth in intelligent service in the Virginia House of Burgesses.

The chart which he gave to us, by which to steer the ship of state, has proved to be a true and a safe one. Today, as individuals and as a nation, we cannot do better than carefully to study his life and career, and lay our course in the paths which he marked out.

The Union League Club, in this annual celebration, is striving to keep alive the precepts of Washington. It has always been fortunate in its orator of the day, but never more so than it is on this occasion.

I take great pleasure in introducing to you Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

DR. HENRY S. PRITCHETT

POLITICS AS A PROFESSION.

Great things have come to this nation in the month of February. Buena Vista claims a day in it; Donelson another. But there are two February days which glow with a lustre all their own—the twenty-second, because on this day one hundred and seventy-three years ago George Washington was born, and the twelfth because on that day in the year 1809 was born Abraham Lincoln. For the sake of what these two men wrought to make and to keep these United States a nation, these two birthdays shine amongst all the days in the calendar like stars of the first magnitude.

There have been twenty-five Presidents of this nation. Almost without exception they were good and patriotic men. Compared with any line of rulers in any other country, they were superior in intelligence and character. Some of them were famous men, whose names and thoughts are real factors in the national life today. But these two Presidents stand above and apart from all the others in the estimation of a grateful country, and their names, like their birthdays, are linked together. What did they have in common which has set their fame above that of all other Americans and which ties their names together in a common immortality?

This question has been answered from this platform more than once by abler men than I, men who themselves had played a part in the determination of great public questions. It is an ever fruitful inquiry to make and to answer, but it is not my purpose at this moment to ask you to review the qualities of Lincoln and of Washington. It is rather to certain contrasts in their lives and professions and to certain thoughts which these contrasts suggest that I wish to call your attention.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN.

Washington was dignified, reserved, aristocratic, one of the richest men of his day, and from his birth a member of the highest social circle of his country, in training a soldier. Lincoln was uncouth to those who did not look below the surface, born in poverty, spending his life in a frontier society, and in training and by profession he was essentially a politician. It was in virtue of his training as a politician that he was able to do in the years between 1861 and 1865 what perhaps no other man in our political history could have done—that is, to hold together a half dozen discordant and conflicting factions and bring them all to the aid of the one great issue, the preservation of the government. It was because he was a politician that he was able to do this, and on this anniversary day when we come to refresh our memories and to invigorate our patriotism for the work of the future I apprehend that there is no better word which can be said, nor one which needs the more to be said, than one in appreciation of the profession of politics. When followed in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln it is the noblest of human callings, and in a free country the one most essential to its growth and freedom.

POLITICS AS A PROFESSION VS. POLITICS AS A BUSINESS.

"Let us praise famous men," writes one of the wisest and shrewdest of the observers of human affairs. I come today to praise the splendid profession of politics as expressed in the life and work of one of its greatest exemplars. And let me distinguish clearly at the outset between this the profession of politics and the business of politics. Politics as a profession is one of the noblest of callings to which a citizen of a free republic may give himself; politics as a business is one of the lowest and the most demoralizing relations into which any man can enter. It is a business in which a thrifty office-holder sells legislation and unfair governmental privileges to those who will buy, it is a business made possible only by the fact that there is a large number of men in the business of buying legislation and who furnish the market for the legislative jobber. Now, in our blundering American way we call both the man in the profession of politics and the man in the business of politics a politician. And the re-

sult is that the term politician and politics have become a by-word and a reproach in our country. That calling which ought to carry with it the greatest measure of respect and regard is received at best with ill-concealed contempt. Fathers caution their sons against it. Any promising man who seriously considers the entrance upon a political life is looked upon as little less than a fool, and every discouragement possible is put in the way of training men for the profession of politics. Alongside of this state of public opinion it is worth while to call to mind these facts. Politics in the true sense includes both the art and the science of government; and he who gives himself unselfishly to it is preparing himself for the profession and for the life which is absolutely essential to the government of a free people; and, finally, the highest type of service which our citizenship has borne in half a century is embodied in the life of one who was essentially a politician. Therefore, in what references I make to the politician it will be understood that I refer to one who is engaged in the pursuit of the science or the art of government: one who loves his profession for its own sake, because it is at once the most important as it is the most interesting of all professions, and who in giving himself to it freely and heartily does so in the spirit of sincerest patriotism.

The man in the business of politics has to this man the same relation as the religious fraud to the real preacher of the gospel; the relation which the quack vendor of nostrums has to the honest physician; the relation which the shyster lawyer has to the real advocate of justice. He is called a politician, but falsely so; and if I shall have occasion to refer to him I shall ask your permission to call him by his real name—the meanest of thieves and the most cowardly of traitors.

THE AMERICAN CONTEMPT FOR POLITICS.

I think one can scarcely view the contempt for politics and for politicians in our country—a contempt which is widespread and indiscriminating—without being struck with the fact that it is a great anomaly in a free people. In a country in which government is at least theoretically for the people, of the people and by the people, it might well be anticipated that a profession which

had to do with government would be the most popular and most respected. As a matter of fact a career in politics is looked upon in other countries—such as in England and in Germany—as one of the most direct roads to public service of high order and to fame of the surest sort. If you call the roll of the great men of the two great English universities for the last one hundred and fifty years you will find the names of the great politicians. And the attitude of the general mass of Americans toward the profession of politics is all the more significant because the attitude of today marks a great change from that of Lincoln's time. Growing up as he did in a frontier community, drawn, however, from the older states, he found a public sentiment alert to all public questions and with a deep and vital interest in their discussion, a sentiment which made the career of a politician at once possible and attractive. Making all allowance possible for the difference of conditions of public questions between the Illinois of today and the Illinois of 1840 to 1860, it is still true that the profession of the politician meant at that time far more to the average citizen than it does today.

AMERICANS NOT A SPORTING PEOPLE.

The other day an intelligent English observer, just leaving our country, remarked: "It is very astonishing to me that the Americans, being of the same general stock as the English, are not a sporting people." "Of course," he added, "I know you think you are, but any one who looks below the surface realizes in a minute that you are not. For example," said he, "your great universities have football games which attract thousands, but no one, or at least very few, are really interested in the game. Everybody is interested in the victory alone. And in your politics it is the same thing. The game of politics here doesn't interest the American people, notwithstanding your boasted institutions. The great mass of people are content to sit by and watch a few men contend for the offices, just as they watch two football elevens. As for taking an interest in the game itself, it doesn't exist. No," said he, "you Americans are not a sporting people, and the moment you take up a sport you spoil it by putting the entire emphasis on the victory and not on the game; but there is

one game," he added, "which seems to me to have absorbed all the sporting spirit of your people so that they can't play any other, and that is the commercial game; and here again it isn't the game—because it is a poor game—but the prizes which can be hung around a man's neck which make the sport keen." There is a deal of truth in what this critic says. The intense commercial competition of our days has brought about a state of public opinion in which the playing of a good wholesome game, the manly struggle of a true man in political life, nay, even the simple and straightforward life of religion, appeals but feebly to men's imagination and to their interest.

But this is not the whole story, and is an effect rather than a cause. Why is it that the life of the politician and the career of the politician appeal so slightly to the great mass of American citizens?

This is a larger question than I can undertake to answer in an hour's talk. It is rather my purpose to call attention to some phases of the situation, to place in relief before you some of those qualities which made Lincoln the greatest of our politicians, and then to urge, if I may, the need, nay, the paramount necessity, in this country of ours to develop a class of well-trained, high-minded and efficient politicians. I will go even one step further and say that it is idle for us as private citizens to be continually criticising the work and the calling of the politician while we are at the same time doing all in our power to make that calling a disreputable one.

THE AMERICAN SUSPICION OF PUBLIC MEN.

One reason for the low estimate in which Americans hold politicians—and I remind you again that I refer to men in the profession of politics, men who are dealing, however ineffectively, with the real questions of public policy, not to the criminals who sell legislative favors in our state houses and city halls—one reason for the low estimate of politicians is to be found in our national habit of suspicion. There has never been a great leader in American politics who has not had to go through this ordeal of unjust suspicion and of partisan abuse. Against the back-

ground of glory in which the figure of Washington is seen by our generation we seldom recall that when he delivered his final address to Congress there were men in that body who publicly thanked God that George Washington no longer polluted the government by his presence. Lincoln's life lies nearer our own time. There are men living now who remember, nay, some who joined in the bitter and cruel things said of him.

“He knew to bide his time
Till the wise years decide.”

For the years are our wisest judges, and in their sure decision both Washington and Lincoln are loved by all Americans. Gentlemen, a man's final place on his country's roll of honor is not fixed by the accusations of small and mean men, but his happiness and his peace of mind are oftentimes at their mercy.

I call to mind a man of your own city, the soul of business honor and of manly integrity, with a long record behind him of untarnished honesty. Taking up a great post at Washington he found himself—as any honest man is almost sure to find himself—the target of a sensational newspaper. I remember his calm indifference to this attack, his absolute confidence that the record of his honest life was sufficient answer to this base charge in the minds of all right thinking people. And I remember also the pain and the disappointment with which he found that the continued reiteration of these slanders slowly poisoned the minds of honest and right-minded men. The record of a long life counted for nothing. The utter improbability of the charges were not enough to condemn them. The fact is that in our country the most mercenary and the most conscienceless newspaper, if it keeps the story going long enough, can destroy the reputation of the most honest man in the minds of many right-minded and well-meaning citizens. There is an impression that good people do not read the yellow journals. If a man accepts public office in Washington he will conclude that the good people form their opinions almost exclusively from the reading of the yellow journals, and that no story is too improbable for belief so long as it attacks the character and the integrity of a public servant.

There are also in our country certain details of administration which tend to make political life less desirable than in some other countries, and to shut out from it the more ambitious and the more able. One of these handicaps of the political profession is the low grade of salaries as compared with similar salaries in corresponding responsibility in business and in the professions. It is again a curious fact that in a republic a system should be maintained whose direct effect is to throw the offices of the government either into the hands of those rich enough to be independent of the salary or else into the hands of those dishonest enough to be independent of it, either solution being a blow at the very democracy which we claim. The normal, energetic, ambitious American has a modest income. It will always be so. Most of them have families dependent on them for support. The scale of salaries which administrative and legislative places carry are planned in such wise as to make it almost impossible for such men to get into office. Curiously enough this discrepancy in pay disappears at a certain point of the government pay roll. Clerks, stenographers, messengers and assistants who carry but small responsibility are paid far higher than in business, while those who are charged with important administrative and legislative duties are paid the salaries of third-class men. Our government puts a premium, so far as its salary list can do so, on clerical skill and muscle, and by the same means expresses the conviction that brains and ability and character can be had for about one-quarter of what it commands in the open market. Nobody knows this better than members of Congress themselves, and if these gentlemen had the courage of their convictions they would raise their own pay tomorrow. The fact is that a government department rarely gets a real administrative review such as the new manager of a railroad gives the system which he undertakes to manage. I have no doubt that a competent administrative officer who had free hand, such as a railway manager has, could reorganize a government department so as to make it enormously more efficient, pay salaries large enough to attract able men to the places of importance, and still cut down the expense of the department below the present cost. Some time, from the very

weight of its own inertia, our government administrative departments will sink to the point where reorganization along business lines will be absolutely necessary. When that time comes the salaries of men in responsible places (whether legislative, judicial or executive) will be placed upon a fair footing as a matter of simple business judgment; and when that time comes it will make it possible for a large number of the most able and ambitious men who are now cut off from political life to enter it.

THE CURSE OF LOCAL POLITICS.

Another thing which makes against the highest political career in America is the curse of local politics. It influences the choice for every political place from President to Alderman. A man is chosen as a Presidential candidate because he lives in a certain state; he goes to the Senate of the United States because he lives in a certain part of the state; to the state legislature to represent a certain county; to the board of aldermen to represent a certain ward, and to the common council to represent a certain street. And by and by I presume there will be some sort of arrangement by which a man will be chosen to represent a certain house. The whole process is adapted to put our political life on a mean and selfish basis. As a result of it men sit in the Senate of the United States, not as Senators of a great nation, but as advocates of a particular section of a particular state; men sit in the legislature to make laws, not for a sovereign state but to trade one local interest against another. The whole tendency is to give prominence to what is small and mean and local rather than to a true democratic consideration of the good of the whole people. Not that local interests or local representation can or ought to be neglected; but there ought also to be some representation of the whole body and of the large interests so that the less should not continually overshadow the great.

One of the consequences of the intense local character of our politics is the loss to the country of a great leader the moment he takes a stand against the political current of the day. "It is not the least of the glories of England," writes one of the ablest of American historians, "that when public opinion veers strongly in one direction, she has men who see clearer than the mass, and

set themselves at once to stem the current; who speak boldly and with no uncertain sound; whose boldness, whose resistance to the tyranny of the majority, if joined to ability and honesty, rarely if ever—such is the wholesomeness of English political life—compel them to retirement." Such an example was John Bright, as he set himself steadfastly to stem the tide of English prejudice at the outbreak of our Civil War. At the end of three years his work and the work of those associated with him had in great measure changed public opinion. Under our political system such a man would have gone out of office as surely and as quickly as did the Republican Senators who voted against the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, an act which counted as much for constitutional government and for the preservation of the life and the health of this nation as any single vote which a Senator of the United States ever cast. Is there not some method by which we may make it possible, at least in the great legislative places, for a really great man to stand against the popular tide and still remain in public life? Is it not possible to devise some plan under which a man who stands for a great and vital principle in public affairs may have some chance to go to the Senate as against the man who represents special interests, in particular sections of a single state?

POLITICAL POWER POSSIBLE WITHOUT OFFICE.

However desirable it may be for a politician to be in office it is worth remembering that much of the best political work has been done by men not in office. Few Americans have made as great an impression on the political life of our country as James Bryce, the English member of Parliament. Much of Lincoln's best political work was done when he was not in office. The extreme theories as to holding office were those of Aristotle and George the Third; the first believed that no man was fit for an office if he wanted it, the latter that any man was fit for any office he could get. To desire office as the widest opportunity is a right ambition for the politician, but a profession of politics is possible out of office. Another and a very powerful influence in the politics of today is the presence of great financial interests seeking to be represented in legislation. It is quite true that this effort is

in many cases put forward to protect supposed interests from hostile legislation rather than to impose special legislation upon political bodies. The two things, however, are so closely intertwined that they cannot be separated, and they operate today powerfully to limit the number of men who can enter or who can remain in political life. The Senate of the United States is today the most powerful body in the government of our country. How long would a man remain a member of that body who advocated strongly and persistently a general measure which seemed to conflict with vested interests?

INEFFICIENCY OF POLITICIANS.

But granted all these handicaps to political life in America as compared with the opportunities in other democratic countries, allowing for the narrowness of local politics and the opportunity which our elections give for the small to overshadow the great, it still remains that the almost universal feeling of contempt which most Americans have for politics and for the politicians goes back of these externals and is found in a deep-seated distrust of the efficiency of the politicians themselves, and here again I remind you that I am not referring by the name of politician to the aldermen who get rich by the sale of your municipal franchises or to the members of the state legislature who sell their vote to the railroad lobby. I refer still to the politician in the better sense, to the man who is trying to deal, and to deal honestly, with the larger questions of government and of national policy. The American people have a respect, almost a passion, for efficiency, and a contempt again almost amounting to a passion for inefficiency and failure. Looking at the politician from this standpoint they have put his measure of efficiency low, and they have sound reason for this criticism and for this judgment.

And what is inefficiency in politics? It is nothing more or less than that which constitutes inefficiency in all other callings. It is the work of the politician, if he understand his profession, to carry forward wisely and at reasonable cost the work and the business of government; to meet the graver questions which his government faces with judgment and wisdom, and to accomplish the ends which it has in view at the least cost and in the most

effective way. When the politician fails to meet such questions, or when in meeting them his leadership costs his country a price which is beyond reason, his leadership as a politician is a failure and he is inefficient.

Let me illustrate what I mean with a recent example, and one outside our own country. Six years ago the government of Great Britain was conducting negotiations with the South African Republic for a *modus vivendi* which might prove satisfactory to the large number of Englishmen then in the Transvaal. The negotiations were complicated with many causes of friction. The politicians in command were on the one hand an old man, hot-headed, smarting under many indignities and with just enough vision of the future to arm his people for a fierce fight; on the other was a far younger politician, but one trained by years of political life. It was the business of these two men to bring out a fair and reasonable solution, one which while protecting the rights of the greater would not humiliate the smaller nation. The younger man approached his task in the spirit of intrigue; he lent himself to small measures and to ignoble schemes; he saw in his antagonist and in the people whom he led only their weakness and their obstinacy, not their devotion and their courage. And what happened? The one leader threw his people into what he ought to have known was a hopeless conflict with one of the strongest nations in the world; the other welcomed a conflict which he had done all in his power to provoke. The business of these two men was the business of trained and skilful politicians. They were miserably and wofully unequal to their task. That which ought to have been settled by skilful and serious political management was settled by the rough and cruel process of war, which in all the history of the world is the resort of the dishonest, but more often of the incompetent politician. Each nation has incurred a price which generations yet unborn will be taxed to pay, and there has been handed down a heritage of bitterness and of hatred which will require the best efforts of the wisest politician to reckon with. The price of inefficient politics is heavy. American business men who look at such management and at such results say to themselves that the manager of a railroad, the builder of a bridge or the agent of a great industrial enterprise who had shown such incompetency,

would have been held responsible for his failures. Can there be any dignity in a calling in which there is no standard of efficiency, either as to methods or as to cost?

Have our own politicians shown any greater efficiency? Let us see. In the last eighty years of our national life two questions have more than all others tried the nation's life and tested the qualities of her political leaders. In both emotion was allowed to run away with reason.

The first was the slavery question. As we look back upon the discussion which went on from the day of the Missouri compromise to its repeal, it is difficult to understand how the Southern leaders could fail to see that the day of human slavery was done. Whatever the opinions of any public man may have been as to the desirability or the right of African slavery in the United States, it ought to have been evident to a reasoning man by 1840 that the day of human slavery was nearly over, and that the business of a Southern politician was to make the best possible terms for his section, terms that might in large measure cover the financial loss and which would not affect, except in the most gradual way, the franchise. Southern leaders recognized, no less clearly than did Lincoln, that this country could not exist half-slave, half-free; but when they came to deal with the practical question of statesmanship they took counsel of sentiment, not of reason; they made their appeal to emotion, not to intelligence; and they led their countrymen full tilt in a hopeless assault against the settled convictions of the civilized world.

When the war had been fought and slavery was a thing of the past, the nation found itself face to face with a problem no less difficult than that of slavery. What was to be the political status of the newly freed slave, and how were the seceding states to resume their places in the Union? In the settlement of these questions the political leaders of the South who had played so great a role in the ante-bellum discussion had no part. But the question was none the less surely settled on emotional, not on reasonable, grounds. As we look back at the solution which was made, through the perspective of forty years, it seems difficult to understand how any statesman of experience could expect to place the highest political power in the hands of a nation of newly

freed slaves and expect any other result than demoralization, humiliation and strife. In this second supreme question of the nation emotion again ran away with reason. Lincoln, had he lived, might have wrought differently; but the wise words of John Andrew, the great war Governor of Massachusetts, were swept away like the cry of a man in a storm, and were called to mind again only when the years had proved their soundness.

It is encouraging to turn for a moment to a solution of a different sort. In 1877 again North and South stood facing each other in angry controversy over the disputed election of a President. Politicians there were in plenty (and some in the highest places) ready to plunge the country into a second civil war. To our everlasting credit a wise compromise, far-reaching in its results, was adopted. For its success this country ought to hold in grateful remembrance the name and the political leadership of Abram S. Hewitt.

THE QUALITIES WHICH MAKE UP POLITICAL EFFICIENCY.

What are the qualities which make for efficiency in political leadership? For answer let me point you to Abraham Lincoln, pre-eminently a politician, and the description of his qualifications by James Russell Lowell. It was the estimate of one great soul by another, made at a time when few men realized the magnitude or the quality of Lincoln's work, and nothing about it is so wonderful as the sure judgment with which Lowell has put his finger upon the real qualities which make Lincoln's political greatness.

“Standing like a tower
Our children shall behold his fame—
The kindly, earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame.”

All the books that have been written since these prophetic words were spoken have added little to our estimate of Lincoln's fame.

And yet these are not the terms which the ordinary man would use to describe the ideal politician. Honesty, patriotism, devotion, moral purpose, these are the words which we hear on the lips of those who preach of what politicians ought to be. These

are the elemental qualities. All these Lowell passed by, as assumed to exist in the character of any upright citizen. They are the fundamental qualities of human character. They must be present in any man's life if he is to be a decent or a useful member of a free state; but something more than this is necessary for leadership and for political efficiency; kindly earnestness, foresight, patience, the indifference to the praise or the blame of small men.

There are few men in our day who take the profession of politics seriously and earnestly. To Lincoln it was a life. The greater no less than the smaller questions were ever in his mind. He gave himself to the life with the same enthusiasm with which the man of science gives himself freely, earnestly, fully to his science, with the same consecration with which the true minister of the gospel gives himself to his calling. It is only when one gives himself heartily, earnestly, unreservedly, believing in the greatness of the life itself, that he can make the most of any calling.

Let me ask your attention, however, to those qualities which Lowell mentions—foresight, patience, superiority to praise or blame. For the great majority of men it will be true, as long as human nature is what it is, that the things which influence them will come mainly, not through reason, but through that deep undercurrent of our being which carries in its sweep our loves and our hates, our fears and our hopes, our suspicions and our confidences. To admit this is simply to recognize human nature as it is. But in such admission we seldom make clear to ourselves that what we call moral considerations, moral purposes, and moral impulses spring also in the main from the emotional rather than from the intellectual side of our nature, and as such are subject to the same excesses and to the same dangers into which other emotions lead us when unguided by reason. Out of this emotional nature there springs not only a sane and steadfast moral purpose which joins hands with right thinking, but there springs also a moral passion which is often mistaken for moral purpose, and which, like other passions, has little connection with reason.

So long as men are influenced most readily through their emotions it follows that political leaders must deal with these emo-

tions and appeal to them. It is a condition of leadership. For men are loved and followed, not for their wisdom but for that subtle understanding of men's hearts which enables the real leader to put himself in touch with the hearts of a thousand men; to think their thoughts and to voice their dimly felt hopes and fears. The great leader is he who unites this sympathetic knowledge of men with the ability to reason, who joins a deep moral purpose with clear vision.

There is a formula in mechanics which expresses the momentum of a moving body as the product of the mass into the velocity. Some such law holds in moral and political leadership. A man's efficiency as a political leader is a function of his ability to deal with both the emotions and the reason; it is equal to his sympathetic understanding of men multiplied into his ability to think straight.

Of all the politicians our country has produced no one has so admirably united these two qualities as Lincoln. It was this union of sympathy and common sense, the ability to see both sides of a question, to understand the other man's view-point, which made him "foreseeing and sagacious." Born, like Shakespeare, amid scenes which early in life brought him into close contact with the ruder forms of human suffering and of human aspiration, his emotional nature seemed able to reach out and touch all sorts and conditions of men. He could understand and appreciate the feeling of the abolitionist and of the men in the border states; he formed the only bond to hold together a half dozen bitter factions, and, through it all, with clear head he thought out the solution of the supreme problem step by step as it came to him. Probably no other man who has ever appeared in our political life could have done the work which Lincoln did between 1861 and 1865. How easily the whole political fortune could be marred was made only too evident when the leadership passed from his hands into those of a well-meaning but inefficient successor. The pity of it is that Abraham Lincoln should not have lived to finish his own work, to bind up the nation's wounds, and to lead back into the Union the seceded states under a system which might have avoided the suffering and the humiliation of the post-bellum days! .

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INTELLECTUAL CLEVERNESS AND STRAIGHT THINKING.

A fair examination of the political leadership which we have produced in the past forces one to admit that the quality which we have most seldom found in our political crises is the quality of the clear mind. Devotion to the country is no rare thing, but a wise devotion, a service of country which walks hand in hand with high thinking, this is indeed rare in our political annals.

And it is to be remembered that the ability to think straight is a very different thing from mere intellectual cleverness, which often passes for it, and which not only does not furnish clear vision to him who has it but does not even protect its possessor against vagaries. Indeed, in the greatest political leaders, like Washington and Lincoln, there is a certain simplicity of mind akin to that which the greatest scientists have shown—a certain intellectual sincerity which teaches them to go straight at the truth, to be satisfied with no makeshifts and no delusions, to preserve that calm judgment which sees the truth on both sides of a question, and no question and no political party has a monopoly of the truth. It is this common sense, this directness and sincerity of thinking, which more than all else have placed Washington and Lincoln apart from all other Americans. Other Presidents we have had who were better educated, some who had keener intellectual cleverness, but none who saw so clearly the true relations of men and of events, none who recognized so fully the truth on both sides, none who thought out so surely as they the next step into the future. To them belonged that simplicity and sincerity of mind which is the attribute of a great soul, and we love them today not less for the things which they have done than for those things which they left undone.

PATIENCE AND A SENSE OF HUMOR.

Patience is a quality which we set small store by in many of the relations of life. It is one of the greatest of human qualities and one of the most essential for a politician. Think of the factions amid which Abraham Lincoln wrought out step by step the problem of the Union—not alone were there the burdens of

incompetent generals, of the demands for political office, of all the thousand suspicions of small men which surround a ruler, but no less difficult were the suspicions, the shortsightedness, the impatience of larger men. And yet, somehow, amid it all moved this kindly, patient, strong man, holding together by the elastic bond of his own great patience factions which would otherwise have rent the party into hostile and helpless camps. Who but Lincoln could have kept the peace between the radical abolitionists, the war democrats and men of the border states, the co-operation of all of whom was vital to success? A weaker politician would have become the partisan of one or the other faction, just as Grant became the ally of the radicals within a very few months after he became President. With what infinite good humor Lincoln dealt with all these factions. And how his sense of humor helped out his patience, sitting day by day with these anxious, self-centered men who talked with him as no other President has been talked to. If I were to try to add to Lowell's formula for an efficient politician I should say add to your patience a sense of humor. It helps to keep a man from taking himself too seriously, and it is an armor against which the sharpest of partisanship is disarmed. In the first year of the war Lincoln found himself under continual pressure from the radicals on the one hand, demanding immediate action by the government against slavery, and from the border states men on the other hand, insisting that such action would send their states into the Confederacy. One day he was visited by a delegation of the latter, who stated their case with almost passionate earnestness, and pressed for an answer from the President. Lincoln sat grave and troubled, the deep lines in his face speaking eloquently of the anxiety under which he was laboring. "Gentlemen," said he, "I have just had a visit from three prominent members of Congress, who assure me that unless I issue a proclamation against slavery at once New England will cease to send troops and munition, and the worst of it is they are coming around at one o'clock to get my answer." And then, as a smile broke over his careworn face, he continued: "My situation reminds me of an incident in my school days in an old field school in the West." And here followed a delightful description of the primitive country school with its one room, its split puncheons

for seats and the modest equipment for teaching. "There were few books in those days," continued the President, "and many of the scholars used their Bibles as readers. The class stood up in line in front of the teacher and, beginning with some chapter, each scholar read a verse, and so on in succession the reading went down the class. The brighter boys would count the number of those standing in line and then count down the verses to the one which would come to them on the next reading, and so be prepared to render the verse with ease and fluency. On one occasion we had that chapter which tells the story of the three Hebrews, Shadrach, Meschach and Abednego, and their experience in the fiery furnace. It so happened that the verse containing the three names came to a boy who was rather larger than the others, but backward and shy. He made sorry work of the names of the three Hebrew children, but finally got through the verse, to the great relief of the class, and the reading continued. It had come almost his time to read again when, to the great astonishment of the teacher and the pupils, he burst out sobbing. 'Sammy,' inquired the teacher, 'what is the matter?' 'Why,' sobbed Sammy, digging his fist into his eyes and glancing sidelong at his book, 'them three blamed fools is coming round to me again.' " And with this the conference ended, leaving the matter in status quo, which was exactly what the story was intended to accomplish.

Saint Peter in his directions to those who would aspire to be leaders in the church places patience high up on the list of qualities, and his advice is wise. The profession of politics is vastly like that of the Christian ministry. Each of them seeks to fit men to be leaders of men. Gentlemen who seek to enter either profession should add to their virtue patience, and to patience, amongst other things, a sense of humor.

INDIFFERENCE TO PERSONAL ABUSE.

Perhaps among all the qualities which Lincoln showed none was more remarkable than the perfect equanimity and good humor with which he encountered the most bitter personal and political abuse. In his own party he persisted in maintaining friendly relations with men who suspected his motives and took

no pains to hide their contempt for his abilities. More than any other man in our history he seemed to possess the quality of estimating a man's usefulness apart from his personal relations to himself or to other men; while the abuse of those against whom he was waging war seemed to have absolutely no effect in arousing in his mind resentment and bitterness. On February 5, 1865, when he could see in plain view the collapse of armed opposition, at a time when in Southern newspapers there were heaped upon his name all the epithets of scorn which sectional hatred could suggest, he presented to his cabinet a measure recommending a joint resolution of Congress providing for the payment of \$400,000,000 in compensation for the slaves in the various slave-owning states. The cabinet was unanimous in its disapproval, and there is little doubt that the measure could not have gone through Congress; but it is interesting as showing the workings of Lincoln's well-poised, magnanimous spirit. A few days later the inner workings of that spirit are still better shown in the noble words of the second inaugural address.

PRAISE, NOT CRITICISM, THE TEST OF A RULER.

There is a profound truth in Lowell's words that it is the ability to bear praise, not the willingness to endure blame, which is the real test of a ruler, and this truth is one which we are almost sure to lose sight of. Inability to endure praise, not the lack of courage to face abuse, is the danger which confronts a strong man in a great place. Any man who has had the chance to see something of what goes on in an administration of government must be aware of it. The place of President of the United States is so great, the reins of power are so far-reaching, the infinite tasks of administration and of statesmanship so numerous that he would be indeed superhuman who made no errors; and yet the President, even with the help of the most honest and plain-spoken of advisers, will meet in the main the reflection of his own opinions. This unconscious flattery is a necessary part of the atmosphere which a President breathes. It is the most subtle and the most insidious test to which a good and strong man can be subjected, and only he who has absolute simplicity and sincerity of heart may hope to rise above it. Lowell is right, not blame, but praise, is the danger to strong souls.

A story is told of one of the Sultans that, realizing that the most of those around him did not reflect public opinion, he appointed an officer whose emoluments were great, whose business it should be to tell him frankly his mistakes and to communicate each day the criticisms of the Sultan's acts which honest people made. Thereby he was enabled to understand the actual consequences of his acts and to receive the benefit of impartial criticisms. There was a sequel to the story which reduces greatly its value as a practical rule of conduct. So distasteful did the presence of this critic become at the end of a year that the Sultan invariably had his head cut off; but none the less he started the new year with a new and indispensable successor. Not from without but from within, not from the words of advisers, however sincere, but from the heights of his own free spirit must he who stands in a great place find that point of vantage from which he may have a clear and wide vision, from which he may look above the animosities and the petty problems of the daily struggle and from whence he may be clear of that vapor which more often than any other limitation sets bounds to the usefulness of good and strong men.

OUR NEED OF WISE LEADERSHIP FOR THE FUTURE.

I have tried to hold up to your examination at this anniversary season the picture of a political leader who wrought wisely because of long training, of high thinking, of great and rare political qualities. Let me, in closing, urge that the problems left to us of this generation are no less difficult than those over which our fathers struggled, oftentimes so blindly and so unsuccessfully. And if we are to meet them in a different spirit, if we are to solve them by the wise hands of peace rather than by the ruder hands of sectional strife, it must be done by developing a class of political leaders who are willing to fit themselves for the profession of politics.

PROBLEMS OF TODAY.

Right across our path stands that legacy of the reconstruction days, the negro problem. Looking back from the vantage point of today, the folly of a universal franchise at the close of the

war is clear. But it is always easy to point out the mistakes of the past. Our business today is not with them, it is to meet the facts of today and of the future.

And what are these facts? They seem to me to be these, and I speak not only as a citizen of Massachusetts but as one born in a slave state and knowing, as only one can who has lived the life, the relations between the whites and blacks in the South. A part of the colored people have made great and creditable progress since the war; another and very large proportion, released from the discipline of slavery, have retrograded in character and in ability to work. Between this latter class and the younger generation of whites there is developing a growing distrust and racial hatred which in many places threatens the very existence of civilization itself. Somehow, by fair and just and good-tempered action, this problem must be met if we are not to let it drift once more to the rough solution of sectional strife. And to do this—to get the negro question out of politics—there is absolutely necessary some basis of mutual confidence and trust between politicians of the South and those of the North. I have sometimes thought it might be a profitable thing if we could have our politicians serve a four years' preparation, as we do our college students, in which they might be trained in the conditions of the sections of the country other than their own; the Southerner might spend four years in New England, and the New Englander a similar period in the South. If we look back over the history of our own mistakes it will be astonishing to find how much legislation of far-reaching character has been passed by men who did not understand the conditions for which they legislated, who legislated for a section they did not understand, and who would never have enacted these measures if they could have foreseen the results which followed. As we take up this problem today, whether men of one section or of another, let us strive to go forward in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, patiently, wisely and with confidence in each other's motives. In politics, as in religion, men more often underestimate than overestimate the motives of those with whom they deal. If we may come to such a confidence the day will soon pass when a man in the business of politics north of Mason and Dixon's line can secure a following by the old-time cry of southern hatred of the

negro, and when a man in the business of politics south of Mason and Dixon's line can secure a following by raising aloft again the bogie of negro political or social domination. And I will say one other word of my own personal observation, as one who shares alike the life of New England and of the South, and it is this. In the White House today is a President who, I believe, sincerely desires to work in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, and who has no higher ambition than to join heartily, frankly and fairly in the effort to deal with this question. Gentlemen of the South, this is no time for small suspicions and harsh words. Let us, whether of the North or of the South, work also in the spirit of Lincoln, himself a product of both North and South.

There confronts us another question with which our fathers did not deal, a question which is the product of the industrial development of the last fifty years. In dealing with it there are no complications from old-time traditions and hatreds. In truth we have been pitched into the midst of it by an industrial development of unprecedented rapidity. The industrial life of the world has changed more in the past fifty years than in the two thousand that went before. Here in America we have passed in little more than a generation through industrial changes which are so rapid as almost to elude our vision. Go back to the day when the last rail was laid in the Union Pacific Railroad.

“What was it the Engines said,
Pilots touching, head to head,
Facing on the single track,
Half a world between each back?”

Could they have looked into the future this is what they might have said :

“Today marks the beginning of a new industrial era, for trade is made independent of space. He who manufactures for sale is no longer limited to a local market. Unrestricted competition which is now the life of trade will become the greatest burden upon it. To escape its pressure men will make great combinations for the production of material on the largest and cheapest scale. Laboring men will organize not alone to raise wages but to adjust themselves to the new industrial order. The old order changeth, giving place to new.

The new order is already upon us. Today we are with difficulty finding men able to deal successfully with the gigantic organizations which capital and labor have evoked. If, in the decades which lie before us, these problems of the industrial world are to be solved without recourse to the rough means of sectional and class strife, it is absolutely necessary that this country develop a political leadership able to deal with the problems of the new order.

DIGNITY OF THE PROFESSION OF POLITICS.

And so, fellow Americans, let me urge upon your consideration today the importance and the dignity in a democracy of the profession of politics. If the problems of the State are the problems of the whole people then he who sets himself to the study of those problems is a servant of the whole people, and his profession is one to be exalted, not brought into contempt; to be respected as the noblest, not despised as the most unworthy. If our political system is such as to make the choice of good men difficult, let us change that system; if it offers no opening to the poor but ambitious and unselfish man let us make it possible for such a man to make an honest living in the profession of politics, and above all let us insist that the men who go into this calling shall become masters in their profession. Let us frankly decline to give high place to him whose political leadership depends on appeals to the emotions and who will not learn to discipline his own tongue and his own temper. That man who cannot discipline his own speech, who cannot discuss public questions without the sting of personal suspicion and bitter words is unsuited for the high profession of politics. A suspicious heart and a clear heart cannot remain long in the same human body. The presence of one will soon make the other impossible. Let us make the profession of politics so honorable, so high, so respected that it will appeal to the wisest and to the ablest of our citizens. If we do this we may hope to go forward into the future under the leadership of men who work in the spirit of Washington and of Lincoln.

The story is told that William of Orange was much annoyed by sufferers from various diseases, who besought him to lay his royal hands upon them and invoke a divine assistance in their ills. The King had little patience with these requests and small

faith in the tradition of the King's Cure, and uniformly refused those who sought his aid. On one occasion, however, an unfortunate more persistent than the rest found his way to the royal presence and begged so earnestly for his blessing that the King, out of sheer good nature, placed his hands on the head of the sick one and began, "The Lord give thee better health, and," added he, after a pause, "more sense."

The American people, looking back over the years when they have followed inefficient leaders through the wilderness of bloodshed and sectional strife, may well demand in the future a leadership which shall have courage, honesty, moral purpose, and, joined with all these, a capacity for clear thinking which shall make these great qualities effective. For, after all, neither courage nor honesty nor moral purpose constitutes wisdom. Not sentiment but sense is the supreme endowment of political leadership for which the Nation seeks.

TOASTS

THE ORATOR OF THE DAY

MR. ALEXANDER A. MCCORMICK, PRESIDENT OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

RESPONSE

DR. HENRY S. PRITCHETT

THE INDEPENDENT CITIZEN

DR. GEORGE A. GATES

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN RUSTLER

MR. E. A. PADDOCK

BANQUET

The nineteenth Washington's birthday banquet was held in the main dining room on February 22, 1905. President Alexander A. McCormick acted as toastmaster. The following speeches were delivered at the close of the dinner:

The Toastmaster: Gentlemen, I first want you to drink with me a toast to the orator of the day, Dr. Pritchett.

The toast having been honored, Mr. McCormick continued:

It would seem like carrying coals to Newcastle for me to attempt to say anything about the orator of the day. I won't say that he surprised us by his magnificent address this afternoon, but I think in all fairness we can say that he has certainly surpassed most of the addresses that have been delivered on this occasion in previous years. I have the honor, gentlemen, of presenting Dr. Pritchett, the orator of the day. (Loud applause.)

DR. HENRY S. PRITCHETT

President, and Gentlemen of the Union League Club: I never really so thoroughly desired that I were an orator as I have today. I have been with you under two false pretenses: one that I was an orator. You have had already evidence that that is untrue. Secondly, that I was a genuine, orthodox Boston product. (Laughter.) Now, the fact is, my situation is a little like that of a man and his wife whom I met once years ago down on what is called the divide, between Denver and Pueblo, and we went into his shack and got the kind of a meal that you get in that part of the world. At any rate, the woman, as he called her, cooked the meal, while the man sat and talked to us. And we talked about the country, and we asked this and that, and he said finally, "I don't want you to think," said he, "I don't want you to think that I come from round here." He said, "I come from away down east, from Pike County, Missouri." (Laughter and applause.) Now, the fact is, I am proud to be a citizen of Boston; a citizen of no mean city, and the fact is also that I am a "piker"—I come from Missouri. (Loud laughter and applause.)

And do you know, since I have been within the circle of the warmth, and the fellowship, and the kindness of your club, I have found something about it that reminds an old "piker" of his home place. (Laughter.) There is something in common between a piker and a Chicagoan. (Laughter and applause.) And I hope you will forgive me if I call you brethren, for I assure you in the cordiality and the kindness and the heartiness with which you have greeted me, I have come to feel in these twenty-four hours which I have spent with you as if you were indeed my brethren. (Applause.)

I am not an orator. I am not one of the well known men who have formerly addressed you. I cannot claim any such standing before the country, or any such reputation as those who have

spoken to you before on such occasions. And I really have scarcely understood why I should have been selected to speak to you; and yet I say to you this: I have never before looked into the faces of an audience such as that which I saw this afternoon, and as long as two thousand thoughtful men can be brought together in such a gathering, men whose faces show refinement, determination, purpose, no city needs to be helpless about its future. I thank you for the chance you have given me to know the Union League Club and to look into the faces of such an audience, and I beg that you will take my apologies as an orator and accept my good will as a "piker." (Applause.)

I want to say a word, too, about this kind of civil celebration which you have here. I have been greatly impressed by it. I expected when I went there today to see a congregation of women. If we had an audience of this kind or an occasion of this kind in Boston, it would mean usually three-quarters women and a few men, and I was delighted to be able to face such an audience and to speak to such a gathering of men; and I believe such occasions, occasions when you bring together men who have in mind the memories which this day brings, that that sort of an occasion, even with so poor a rendition and so poor an orator as you had today, is worth while having. It is worth our while to refresh our memories on this occasion, to refresh ourselves for the purpose which lies before us.

There is an impression that talk is cheap. God bless you, it is the most expensive thing in the world. (Laughter.) The talk which went on in the United States Senate between 1850 and 1860 cost us the war; and the talk which went on between 1865 and 1868 cost us the reconstruction. Talk is expensive, and if you can get some talk before young people and old people on these anniversary days, of what the real problems of our country are, if you can get people to turn aside for a day to consider the real serious problems before us long enough to get these problems before them, it is worth doing, if it means only talk for a moment and only the attraction of men's minds to such things. I think it is a fortunate thing that those birthday anniversaries of our two great Americans, Washington and Lincoln, occur in the same month. They bring together memories which are well to be linked together.

I did not have a chance today to explain to you just exactly what the common greatness of Washington and Lincoln is; I will do so now, and this involves a consideration of a purely technical sort. I trust you will not take this as an advertisement of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. But the fact is, the real thing which made Washington and Lincoln what they were, the real thing which places them today above all other Americans, is the fact that they were both surveyors. (Laughter and applause.) Engineers. If the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had been in existence at that time, I have no doubt they would have gone there and been much better engineers. (Laughter.) And the moral of these facts is that if you turn over the politics to the engineers of the country instead of the lawyers, it will be admirably and splendidly carried out. (Applause.)

I was looking the other day over the list of congressmen and senators, and I found there was one engineer and I think two hundred and fifty or three hundred lawyers. I wondered what there was in the profession of the law that called to the service of the senate and the house so many lawyers and so few engineers. I fancy that something must be wrong in the arrangement of the machinery which runs the government and that what we really want to do is to prepare a lot of legislative engineers. And that, of course, was exactly what Washington had in mind in founding the great institution in Washington. No man knew better than Washington the bitterness, the injustice, the partisan unfairness of political strife. No man was accused of baser things than George Washington, and his idea in the proposing of a great institution of learning at Washington was that it might bring together the men from the north and from the south, the men from all sections, who might thereby understand each other and who might thereby remove somewhat of that partisan bitterness and some of that partisan injustice which he himself felt so keenly. And the idea was a good one. Who can tell what might have happened if it had been acted upon at the time? Suppose that John Quincy Adams and Jefferson Davis and John C. Calhoun and Webster and a few other men had gone to the same school, in the same classes, had recited to the same master, who can say what the effect might have been on the

period between 1830 and 1860? Washington's idea, like most of his ideas, was an intensely practical one, and I only bring it forward at this moment to show that if you will only adopt the suggestions of engineers in practical things, you are likely to come to a result which will work much more smoothly than if you listen to the less skilled and less technical politicians. (Applause.)

I referred today to some of the great problems which we face, and if one may interject a serious word at such a gathering, I should say that there seem to me to be, on the whole, before us, to meet in this country, at least four great problems. One is the ever-present negro question, the question which we inherited from the war, the question which Mr. Bryce calls the most difficult one before American politicians and before the American people. And as one looks back over the leadership which has dealt with it one cannot but wish that many of those who have legislated over it and who have been influential in the legislation which has been had, might have had some such experience as Washington pictured when he said that these men were placed side by side to understand each other's motives and each other's point of view. I look back myself, as a boy, at the last of the Civil War, and remember the discussion which swept over the country when the idea was first put forward that the franchise should be put into the hands of all the blacks. At that time, a boy of eight or nine, my closest friend and my common companion was a slave, or a man who had been a slave of my father until three years before. He came to me—we were intellectually on about the same basis, he being a man of forty and I a boy of eight or nine—and he said, "What does this heah vote mean? What you all goin' to do with the vote?" I was somewhat in doubt about the vote myself. I knew in a general way that there were votes, but what they were for was a little bit beyond me. However, he came back two days later, his face all aglow with the innocence of a new and a good discovery, and he said: "I know all about dat vote now; it's all right; I find I get two dollars for it." (Laughter.) No man sold a vote with greater innocence, with more pureness of heart than my old friend Steve. And I have fancied sometimes that if those who had

most to do with the legislation which brought about the reconstruction period could have had some such experience as this on both sides, there might have been somewhat different legislation. But today we inherit that problem, to be dealt with wisely, fairly, justly.

And the second great problem which I should mention is the industrial problem. We have been pitchforked into an industrial era of great activity and of absolutely new conditions. The world has grown more rapidly in fifty years in industrial relations than it grew in two thousand years before. We have practically had to readjust every business enterprise. The fact that transportation no longer cuts off a market from any place means that industrial relations are wholly different. There has come up a new order by which somehow or somewhere there must be worked out such relations between those who have to do with capital and those who have to do with labor as will mean a fair, a just, a lawful regime in our country. And this is the second great problem.

And the third one, it seems to me, is the presence in legislation of great personal and great corporate interests which press for representation in the government, which demand, either for their own defense or for their own protection or else for their own ends (and those three things are always so intertwined that they cannot be separated) representation in our national councils. Take the Senate of the United States. It has become in twenty years the most powerful legislative body in the world. Certainly its functions with respect to our government have been enormously increased. I have sometimes wondered just what the purpose of any given man was in wanting to go to the United States Senate. I stood three weeks ago looking down on the Senate from the gallery as it was organized for an impeachment trial, the first court of impeachment since Andrew Jackson's time, and I wondered if it would be possible, and what an interesting thing it would be if we could have an explanation as to why given men go to the United States Senate, and it reminded me a little bit of a question a Chinaman once asked me in Shanghai. Two of us were just taking the steamer for this side of the water for the transpacific voyage, and all the things were going on in the port, on the dock, which go on when a great steamer is setting sail

for a three weeks' voyage. There was a Chinaman there loading tea boxes in the harbor, and he was doing his work in the quiet, systematic way in which a Chinaman works. He had on his back one of those curious patterns which tells the society to which he belongs; an admirable thing. It always seemed to me it would be better, however, if it were put on in front, so that you could tell, when he was coming to you, to what society he belonged. But as we watched him passing back and forth, we were soon conscious that he was watching us. Pretty soon he turned around and in his pigeon English (and pigeon English means simply business English; to catch a pigeon in Chinese means to get a job) and he turned to us finally and said, "Come buy cargo?" Now, "Come buy cargo" is a pigeon English expression along the China coast meaning, "Did you come out on business?" No, we said, we did not come to buy cargo. And we continued our walk. He turned around in a moment or two when he could bear it no longer and said, "Expect die soon?" Now, that is a pigeon English expression for "Did you come out for your health?" That is to say, a great many take the voyage from England or from other countries around through the Indian Ocean for their health, and the Chinese pigeon English, which is always direct, for that sort of thing is "Do you expect to die soon?" We assured him we did not, and again continued our walk. Finally he again turned around in his quick way and said, "Just come look see?" Yes; we had just come to look and see. So evidently he had divided up the foreigners whom he saw into three classes, those who "come buy cargo," those who "expect die soon," and those who "just come look see." That is to say, those who were there for business, those who were there for their health, and those who were there just to have a good time, globe trotters. And I have sometimes wondered as one looks down on the United States Senate, or looks at it, whether you might possibly divide them into those who were there (great laughter) for cargo, or those who were there for their health, and those who were there just to have a good time. (Applause.) But I do believe that no man should desire a place in such a body unless he is willing to deal seriously, thoughtfully and energetically with the real problems that face him. And this thing, the fact that these great centralized interests are more and

more represented in such a body and in such a legislation is one of the things which thoughtful men in America have to reckon with.

Then the fourth thing I have to say is that which I preached about today, and that is the indifference of the American public to political questions; the inertia of men with regard to their political duties. There is no set of duties which men take so lightly, unless it is their duty to their children. A man came into my office last week and said, "I would like to get a tutor for my boy. He is twenty-one years old, and he is going to the devil. I haven't got any time to look after him myself. I want some fellow to do it." I said, "My dear sir, if you have got any time in this world for any one thing, you have got time to look after that boy. That is neither my duty nor the tutor's. You stop what you are doing and look after him." A good many men have that feeling about their political duty. They feel like the man from whom the missionary tried to collect some money. The man objected that he could not pay. He said he had debts. The missionary said, "Don't you know that you owe more to God than any one else?" "Yes," said the man, "but God isn't pressing me." Now, most men feel that their political duties are not pressing them. They are. Sooner or later, brethren—and I hope you will forgive a piker's privilege—sooner or later they will press it. They press us now. Have you ever thought, has it ever been brought to your attention by your own travel abroad that the nations of Europe still look upon us as being in an experimental state, still look upon our democratic government as an experiment, and this is what they say about it: "Your government in the first place makes justice expensive; your rich man can get justice after a long time and much money; your poor man cannot get it at all. Your municipal governments are corrupt; your government is an expensive one; and taking it by and large your democratic government is a failure." How long ought a government to go on before it is considered to have been fairly tried? Now, there is much in these criticisms. It is often true that our political government has been in large measure a failure. It is true that in many respects our government has been expensive. Has it justified itself in these last twenty or thirty years? The critics on the other side claim that it has

not, and they still continue to look upon our government as an experimental one.

I want to say one other word. I have heard a deal said today about certain acts of the President. I believe I know Theodore Roosevelt, and I believe I know his honesty of mind, and I believe that President Roosevelt means no more than this, that so far as he has to do with it, the laws of this country are going to be enforced, whether those laws have to do with an individual or a corporation or a labor union, and if that is what he means—and I believe it is—then I think every right-minded man will stand with him. (Applause.) We have come to the point in our political history when the main thing for us is obedience to law. You men have seen it here in Chicago. You have seen the law violated again and again by corporations on the one side and by labor unions on the other, and there has been no man punished. Now, until we can come to a time when as a civilized people we can enforce the laws which we have, we have no right to grumble about the politicians who ride it over us. The first duty of us as American citizens is to see to it that there is an honest, an exact, a fair and a just enforcement of the law, and that, I take it, is after all the problem contained in all the rest. (Applause.)

And so, brethren, if I may, I wish to leave you with just that message, and I wish to echo at the end of it my own faith in the American people. I feel about the American people a little like the Yankee who talked to Mr. Bryce, who had been lecturing about the providence of God in history, and the evidence of a divine providence in this thing and that, and the Yankee said, "Yes, Mr. Bryce, I guess God is good, but He is careless." The American people is good, but it is careless, and the thing that we as men and citizens have got to do is to recognize that these debts to the country are just as pressing, just as fully needing to be done as the things which pertain to our individual duties and to our individual business, and such a club as this, a club which stands rather for civic effort than for political effort, a club which stands for straight politics, whether it be on one side or the other, a club which means that the game shall be played honestly, fairly, be it played ever so hard, is an influence which must count in the end, especially on such a scale, and I want to say to you in

taking my farewell that I have had few pleasures so great as that of looking into your faces and of being with you in the fellowship of this twenty-four hours. I take it after all, we Americans are one, whether we come from the center of the country or from the Pacific slope, or from the eastern coast, that through all of our citizenship runs the same devotion to the same fundamental principles, the same belief deep down in our hearts in the real ability of the American people to deal with these problems. I myself have no question of our democratic government; I believe that our municipal governments have been corrupt. I believe we have cost in our government more than it ought to have cost. I believe that justice has been expensive and hard to get in America, and if I believed that was going to continue always I should despair in it, but I have entire and perfect and sincere confidence in the ultimate justice, the ultimate judgment, the ultimate honesty and the ultimate energy of the American people when once they put their hearts and their minds and their energy into the solving of these great problems which, as sure as you and I live, lie right in front of every one of us. (Applause.)

The President: I take pleasure in presenting to you one who has come a long distance to address the children at the celebration held under our auspices this morning, Dr. George A. Gates, President of Pomona College, Claremont, California.

DR. GEORGE A. GATES

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Club, and Fellow Citizens: I am glad you introduced some music here tonight, but I could not help thinking of an Englishman with whom I have a profound sympathy. He said he knew just two pieces of music in the world, but he was absolutely sure of them: one was "God Save the Weasel," and the other was "Pop Goes the Queen." (Laughter.) If I can hit what I want to say tonight as close as that fellow did, why I might get through. (Laughter and applause.) I see you are generous; you put a clock up where the speakers can see it so they won't take up too much time.

Well, my train does not go until day after tomorrow, and I am going to have a good time anyway. (Laughter.) Now all these flattering allusions to Chicago, and to Chicago men, are very nice on the part of Dr. Pritchett, but it is just a ruse to get into your good graces. I noticed some of you fellows sitting around here fill your glasses several times, so you were quite ready to applaud his compliments on the Chicago citizen. (Laughter.) I was reminded, however, of that story which you may have heard of one of your Chicago citizens. If so I shall need to apologize for it, but it was about an Englishman, a Frenchman and an American who were conversing together. The Englishman said to the Frenchman: "Oh, all your great Frenchmen were no good anyhow; they were not Frenchmen themselves. Those that were any good were not Frenchmen. There have been the Savoyards, and some from Alsace, and some you have brought down from other countries you have hitched on, and there was one little Corsican. Most all of your great men were not Frenchmen anyhow." And so there was a great laugh on him; but presently the Frenchman got back at the Englishmen in this way: Said he, "You haven't got anything to laugh at. All your great Englishmen have been either Irishmen, or Welshmen, or Scotchmen," and he named over some of the principal ones.

Well, the American laughed heartily at this, and the Englishman got back at him by saying: "The trouble with you over there in America is that the greatest man you have in America lives in Chicago, and isn't a man at all; it is Jane Addams." (Laughter and applause.) I think there is something in that. So you needn't swell yourselves up with pride, you horrid male men. If you want a thing done you holla for Miss Addams, and you are very wise men to do it.

My theme is "The Independent Citizen." I shall treat it in the first place as the famous essayist on Ireland treated his theme: He had a chapter on snakes, which consisted of one sentence: "There are no snakes." That is an old story, but I think it is applicable in connection with my theme, "The Independent Citizen." In speaking to my theme I do not fail to recognize two facts: First, that the only practical, exact and truthful measure of the degree of civilization at which any people stand, at any epoch, is the degree of its dependency each on the other. I lived among the Indians eight or ten summers up on the north shore of Lake Superior, and I found out that your Indian is an independent fellow. He is the only independent citizen in the world, the savage, but I will not enlarge upon that, but I say it just to remind you that as civilization increases more and more are we dependent on each other. That is what makes the great world of modern industry and commerce the greatest minister of social unity there is in the world today. Steel rails and steamships and copper wires are preaching the gospel of brotherhood in a way that no simply spoken word today can do.

Friends, the nations have got to get together. We cannot afford to go to war with each other much longer. It costs too much, because our interests are all tied up together. So I say, as a general proposition, the exact measure of civilization is the degree of our dependency upon each other. (Applause.)

Secondly, we must recognize, of course, in this age, the paramount necessity of organization; of party organization if you please. But that is not my theme. But over against that I want, nevertheless, to plead for the honesty, and sincerity, and pertinency of the Independent Citizen.

Now, I know what men always say. They say in the first place that men don't want it and they lie. I belonged to an

ecclesiastical body once that was a close corporation. I refer to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, if any of you know of it. I have no serious hesitancy in naming it. (Laughter.) They were a close corporation and dissatisfaction began to arise against that body, and the people of that great body could not understand it, and finally they appointed a committee to investigate and report, and that committee reported through its chairman and said: "We have investigated thoroughly among our constituency and find that the people do not want any voice in the management of their affairs." There was present there, Cyrus Northrup, a magnificent old man up in the Northwest here, "a breeze from the Northwest." And by the way, that reminds me of a joke he got on Chauncey Depew that some of you may have heard, but at any rate I will tell it. He was introduced by Chauncey Depew to an audience, as "A breeze from the Northwest." Instantly the old man was on his feet, and said he, "Gentlemen, I shall accept that, for I know of no greater authority on wind than Mr. Depew." (Laughter.) They say that Depew was beaten for once, and the only time in his life; he had nothing to say.

Well, to go back to my story, when that committee reported there was profound silence and I saw that old man step up to the platform and deliver himself something in this fashion: "Gentlemen of the American Board: If the finding of your committee is to stand, and if it is to be recognized by this body here as a fact that the people do not want any voice in the management of the affairs of this body, I here and now raise the standard of revolt." Well, that was a great scene, and within five minutes after he sat down three important members, high officials on the Board of that organization, came to him and said, "Don't." They had seen a great light.

Now the pity of the thing is that those men actually believed their report. They were perfectly sincere, and we must reckon with that fact, that men commit the most deadly errors and are perfectly sincere in them. They say that the people don't want it, but that is not so. What on earth was that fuss about one hundred and twenty-five years ago, if the people didn't want to run their own affairs? Oh, let us quit that talk about the people not wanting it. That is political blasphemy in this land.

And then they say we are not fit for it. Well, that is what Russia is saying, and what is Russia getting?

A Voice: Hell. (Laughter.)

Dr. Gates: I knew there were some theologians here. And I beg to say, brother, you having stated the word, that I agree with you. (Laughter.) It might not do for me to say it, but I endorse the sentiment, and moreover they deserve it. Friends, I insist, with all joking about it aside, it is one of the most hideous things that I have ever faced in my mature life, to talk with mild gentlemen and women and have them say when the horrors of assassination occur, have them say under their breath but without a tremor, "I am glad of it." I tell you, gentlemen, that is a tough state of affairs. Nevertheless it exists. Americans feel that way, for they understand, of course, that Russia can go on sowing its seed for awhile, but there comes a time when there is a harvest of whirlwinds, and perhaps it has come now.

Let us quit that talk in America about people not wanting it. I hesitate to say what it is in my heart to say, but nevertheless I shall quote the words of an American who said a little while ago—I shall not name him: I desire to do no unkindness to any man—but he said something like this: I am sorry that I mislaid the paper having the exact words on it, but I shall do him no injustice in what I say. He was a man who was in charge of one of our large corporations. He was not to blame for that, I wish I were able to do such great work, for I tell you I pay the tribute of a reasonable student of history of my admiration to the men who are managing the great industrial and commercial affairs of this world. As men who are doing a work compared with which in size and responsibility the work of running the Roman Empire was a holiday joke. (Applause.) Nevertheless one of these men made a speech something like this, in referring to men of his own class: That to him God in His infinite wisdom has given charge of the property interests of this country.

I make no apology for the strength of my language when I say that in my fifty years of life I have not heard from American lips a more bitterly blasphemous utterance than that. (Applause.) Talk about anarchy! Why, the fellow that throws a bomb and kills a few people is a mere little child playing with a harmless toy compared to that fundamental and organic anarchy

which says in the face of high heaven, and with blasphemy upon its lips, "God has ordered me to take the property of this country and to take care of you." (Applause.)

And the pitiful thing about it is, in my heart of hearts I believe that man is an honest man and believes what he says. That, gentlemen, is the pity of it. He believes it. That was not a hasty sentence. It has been repeated in court since by several men.

Well, in passing, I would like to pay my tribute to that fellow whom we all sort of liked. We don't agree with him always, but when he got up and said: "Gentlemen, come down to Washington, I want to see you," we were all with him. I am glad that at least we reverence men whom we put into high positions and the power which they represent enough in this country still to count the invitation of the President of the United States as equivalent to a demand. I am glad that we have a man there who sees that there are some things which stand above this question of technicalities and goes ahead and does them. (Applause.)

So when any men or any body of men say that the earth does not belong to the people, it belongs to some one else, I say that is wrong and it is blasphemy and heresy, and I stand for the rights of the common people and for their independence and for their right to vote as they please under any kind of an organization whatsoever.

Now, we got a little encouragement in our recent election. I understood that this was an organization of Republicans until Mr. McCormick let me down easily by saying: "I am a Democrat, but the Democrats are wrong here and there." "Well," I said, "I am a pretty mad Republican." Now, I want to say to you that a Democrat who thinks some things are not right and a Republican that gets mad, when the Republican party begins to go back, that is the crowd that will get together. What happened in the late election you all know and I do not need to touch upon it, but there is one thing I will say: I wanted to be in Missouri so I could vote for two men, for Folk and Roosevelt. (Applause.) And it appears there were two or three hundred thousand other persons that had that same feeling. And up in Wisconsin they did some good things and they did some pretty good things in Illinois, too, and in other States. I tell you we

won't stand it. And I want to call your attention to the independent vote. When you get two or three million people to go into a ballot box, it takes a certain degree of intelligence to go in and mark those ballots, scratch those ballots, as they did in Missouri, for example, and in other States, and that independent and intelligent vote is one of the most encouraging signs I have seen in our politics in the last twenty-five years; the fact that men will stand up and vote that way. (Applause.) So I say we are getting a lot of encouragement all along the line.

But they say, "The independent voter, oh, pshaw, you can't talk about that, because you must vote for measures, not for men."

Gentlemen, I want to put in a protest. Upon my word, I believe that the great body of men voted for President Roosevelt not because they agreed with him, but because he was a man. I confess I would vote for him still because I think he is a man, even though on nine-tenths of what he said I was not in accord with him. Are you going to tie a man up to vote for a certain thing, for a certain measure? What will your politician do in that event? He will go to work and twist that thing around with amendments and one thing and another until when that man who is pledged to voting for a certain measure goes in and votes he will be casting his ballot directly opposite to what he intends it for. I would rather stand fairly and squarely by a man whom I can trust to do right. I would rather stand for the man and not for the measure. I put that out for you to think of because you gentlemen are better able to think of it than I am.

But they say if you give a man too much power, it is dangerous, if the people are given too much power, that that would be dangerous. Why, I have always found it that where you give the people power they grow conservative. So I say if you give the people power, let them feel their responsibility, they will lose a good deal of their radicalism. I am not a Socialist, but I am not such a fool as not to recognize, in passing I say it, that many of the things the Socialists are standing for we have got to come to under whatever name it may be. Not all, but some of the things, and if the Republican party now in power does not do certain things, which the Socialists now emphasize, we will see that party go down and the Socialists will get the

vote, as they have in Germany, and Belgium, and France, and elsewhere.

I must not keep you longer except to say that I do not like that kind of a citizen who says, when asked why he does not take an interest in the affairs of the municipality, "Why, it is easier for me to make more money by attending to my business, and letting the rascals and the city council steal it, than it is to take the trouble to get honest men elected." Gentlemen of America, that sentiment contains at the heart of it the doom of the American nation. If citizens are going to abrogate their responsibility as members, organic members of that great constitution, of the great American government, then we might as well give it up first as last. I don't believe that anybody, I do not believe that that man himself, if charged with it face to face, would endorse that sentiment.

One word more and then I must close. I accepted your invitation and traveled four days and nights and as many back because I got one of those chances which an American citizen can have, a chance to speak to two or three thousand boys and girls who are going to be running this country when we old fellows have gone on. I would rather speak to a crowd like that than to most any crowd I know of because, don't you see, you old fellows are going to Heaven all right, but by your own way. Not my way. Maybe not, I mean. (Laughter.) But the boys and girls, you can help them a little, and that is why I like to address them. Now I read a German book some time ago written by a great German literary man, in which he tells the story of a young boy who has made up his mind that he is going to be a merchant. Read the pages telling of that boy's thoughts, the thoughts of youth, and they are long, long thoughts. Read the ideal of a merchant as that great literary artist puts it into the mouth of that boy, and into his mind.

"I want to be a merchant; to stand in the heart of the marts of the world, bringing the goods that one nation produces to help out another nation, and sending back the goods that they cannot produce in order that they may be blessed too. I want to be a minister of God Almighty standing in that place of power, the modern merchant."

It is a beautiful work, and when I sometimes hear commercialism spoken of disrespectfully, and I guess I do my share of that when it is used wrongfully—I am sorry, because there is no age in the world, as I was saying to the boys and girls this morning, and no country in the world that honors its business men and business success as this age and this country does. In Germany a scholar is honored so highly that in a University town in Germany I was admiring a beautiful residence and inquired as to its owner, and the reply was, "Oh, he is just a manufacturer; he is worth eight or ten million, but he doesn't amount to anything; he is nothing; this is a university town." He had no standing, just because he was worth many millions.

And, why do we honor Washington and Lincoln? Do we honor them because they set out and tried to get what they could out of others for themselves? Do we? I wonder that you men do not rise up in wrath and hiss such a sentiment as that. We honor men because of the old-fashioned gospel sentiment which is as true as the rock bound hills. Aye, it was true before they existed and will be true after the hills have ceased to exist, that simple righteousness, the fundamental application of which in our lives is, "The service of men to others." But you say that is a beautiful sentiment, but it don't work. Gentlemen, you are mistaken. It does work, and works everywhere. You merchants and lawyers, will you dare to look me in the face and say, "Oh, you idealists and moralists and educators are holding too high an ideal for us. We live in the world for what we can get out of it. Let these others be in the world for what they can give it." Gentlemen, excuse me for the bluntness of my language, but I say to you, "You lie." (Applause.) I want the independent citizen to be recognized. I want every man as a man to be independent enough to stand for righteousness independently of any organization, any body of men or any principle whatsoever, except one. That is, that he shall make his calling so high that he shall join the great souls of earth.

Merchants! Tradesmen! Lawyers! Why in the name of God, I ask you, why is it right that you should stand on any lower plane in regard to the great appeals that the universe

makes than the minister, the teacher, the physician, the locomotive engineer, or the mother? What right have you to shirk? Are you not just as responsible for high ideals as any man or woman in America? I plead for the high calling of commerce and business, that it be lifted up and honor itself by the feeling of pride that it is a contribution to the world's work and the world's worth. That I understand to be the position in the business world, in the political world, and all the world of American citizenship, than which there is no greater citizenship on earth. I plead for that independently righteous man who stands free before his God because he is obedient to the great laws of his life. (Applause.)

The Toastmaster: The problems that Dr. Gates and Dr. Pritchett have to meet in their respective communities are far different from those which Mr. Paddock had to meet in the sage brush of Idaho. A man who battles with nature commands our respect. When Mr. Paddock left a congregation in Denver and took a section of land in Idaho filled with sage brush and without water, and with his own hands took out that brush and cultivated five acres; built a hut and established the Idaho Institute, we must honor one with the pioneer principle who did that not for adventure, not for excitement, but that religion and education might keep up with the frontier. I have pleasure, gentlemen, in introducing to you the Honorable Mr. Paddock, who will speak to us on the "Rocky Mountain Rustler."

MR. E. A. PADDOCK

The Honorable is well placed—pards (laughter), because it is an honor to be in this presence, which I appreciate as well as my brethren, one from the east, and the other a little west of where I sit. It is true, as has been said, that our country is a waterless country, and I am reminded of that grand old statesman from Texas, old Gen. Houston. He was making a grand plea in congress for the recognition of that great country (Texas) as a state. He waxed eloquent in his pleading for his native state. He said, "Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of Congress: Our state lacks but two things in being one of the greatest states, when it shall be admitted into this Union, of all these states, and that is water and good society." (Laughter.) Instantly the member from Massachusetts arose and said, "That is all they lack in hell." (Laughter.) We have the good society; we shall have the water; and I want to say to you that the crowning glory of our country, of that rustler of the rustlers, that personification of patriotism and pluck, President Theodore Roosevelt, was the fact that he advocated watering those great plains between the mountains. (Applause.) That turned the silver vote in Idaho from 12,000 against the Republican party to 15,000 for Teddy Roosevelt, at the last election. And I want to say that that strip of land which was called in the geography which I studied, "The Great American Desert," will one day be the garden of this country, when these systems of irrigation are perfected and that land is well watered. Now, this land from which the Rocky Mountain Rustler comes is a healthy country. I was told—I guess it is pretty nearly true—that they had to shoot a man to start a burying ground. It is absolutely true that the first man buried out there is shot, as a rule. But one of your Chicago men coming out as President Pritchett's Chinaman said, "for his health," had one lung entirely gone, having breathed this air of Chicago so long, was not three months in

Idaho until he had three lungs. (Laughter.) He married two of them. (Laughter.) That's a fact, gentlemen.

The Rocky Mountain Rustler rustles down to your country here carloads of wool, which keep your factories running between these two mountain chains. If the map of the world could be changed and the country called the Rocky Mountain Slope could be blotted out, it would not be long before the people of Chicago would starve to death. If the map could be changed and Chicago should be blotted out, I don't know whether those frontiers would know if anything had happened or not. (Laughter.) But it is a fact that every morning you have some of the products of Idaho on your table. Not less than 180,000 sheep were shipped from the little town where I live down here to feed you people in this eastern country—most of them coming to Chicago. The beef that comes to your country has roamed the hills of Idaho. We read in that ancient literature of the cattle on a thousand hills. We go better than that. We have a thousand cattle on one hill (laughter) and they are brought down here for your sustenance, and they are sent around the world. They go to feed Johnny Bull, and I don't know what he would do without his breakfast beef that is grown in Idaho and fattened on your fertile prairie, on the corn. It has to be corn fed, finished off in that way. So it is that we rustle out for you the silver and the gold, and we also rustle down—you see we are benevolent people—to your stocks in gold mines that will make you rich in a very short while—at ten cents a share. That is a benevolent scheme. (Laughter.) So the Rocky Mountain Rustler thus brings to you the things that make life worth living. You, perhaps, would not understand that if you could see him in his cabin, see him on the round-up, see him with his chaps, on his broncho, but nevertheless that is true. You are dependent upon the rustler of the Rocky Mountains, and I tell you they are the men of no mean country if they have not any city at all, and they are men necessary to the highest well-being of this country. I have come to love those men, working among them. I never have found men who could read character and weigh men so quickly and accurately as those same Rustlers of the Rockies. I suppose I ought not to say anything disrespectful—I will not—of the

gentlemen, who are called "gentlemen of the cloth," but it happens sometimes in any profession that some people get a little bit top-heavy. I do not think it is any more true of people who are called preachers and doctors, and so forth, I do not suppose it is any more true of them than of any other class of men. Whether it is the fault of our education or not, I am not prepared to say, but it is true that sometimes there comes to our country from your eastern country here—for you are in the far east—there comes to us perhaps a theological student—he may be a little more than a student sometimes—who is broken in health, if not in theology, perhaps both (laughter), and he has that feeling that he is of a little better stuff than the Rustler. He walks as if he wanted the earth to ask an apology for his stepping upon it. Now, such a young man came to our country. He had been told by his physician here that he could not live in this country, "to go out West, young man; get out on the ranch; be out in the open air, and you will get back your health." Well, he found a place to board with an old ranchman in my state. Now, he did not mingle with those cowboys, come up to Jim and slap him on the back, and say: "How are ye, Pard?" No, he was dignified. The boys kept away from him and he kept away from the boys. But one day he thought he would take a little exercise, and he came to the ranchman and said, "It is a beautiful day. I would like to get a horse to ride out over the hills and view the beauties of Nature." The old ranchman said, "I will give you a horse," and he went out to the corral and brought up the worst old broncho he had in the place. Now, this young man never had been on the back of the festive broncho, and that broncho rolled the whites of his eyes as much as to say, "What fun we will have by and by." They helped him onto the broncho, and in a few moments he was scattered all over the ranch. Fortunately he was not badly hurt, but he was tremendously frightened. Some of the boys took the old man to task and they said, "Now, see here, you were a little hard on that dominie. You ought to have given him a gentle horse the first time," and the old fellow rolled his tobacco over to the other side of his cheek, and he said, "I've horn tell how we orter spread the Gospel (laughter) and I didn't know how I could spread the Gospel any better than by letting

that fellow have the broncho." Now, if any of you men have ever seen a muscular broncho "spread" a tenderfoot you can understand it. I am told that about twenty-five years ago in your city here a club of gentlemen, not quite so large, perhaps, as this club, realizing the needs of something other than head education, put their hands in their pockets, bought a lot up here for about \$25,000, added \$25,000, and finally \$75,000 more to it, and started what was really the mother of manual training schools in this country; an honor that Chicago may well wear with pride, for the other places all over the land have imitated its example. The business men of Chicago have come to realize this important fact that our education has been somewhat too one-sided and that it was necessary that the young people who are growing up to be the future administrators of this government should know how to *do* things as well as to *know* things.

Now, we have a system of public instruction in our country which, perhaps, is second to none other in the world. It is based on this fundamental principle that every child born into this country has a right to have, that the safety of government demands that he do have, and that he for his own enjoyment and for his safety as a citizen of these United States should have, an education. Now, it will be very soon recognized just as strongly that every single child that comes into this world in this part of the country, in our country, has a right to be taught—if necessary, by the public expense—how to do that which will bring to him an honest livelihood. In other words, that every boy and girl shall be compelled to know not only the multiplication table and the rule of three, but how to do things with his hands. And it will be found also that this instruction does not in any way interfere with the gaining of knowledge which we commonly call education, finished education. In my humble judgment there is nothing that will so soon solve the difficulties that are before us on industrial lines as to have this general education, and it ought to be, of course, three-fold. I put it on the three H's: the education of the head, the education of the hand, and the education of the heart, those three going together. Then your citizen is a useful citizen, and it will be found that the mental exercise of learning, how to make a step-ladder for instance, a wagon, a tin can, or anything in

the mechanical arts, does not hinder the gaining of knowledge from books, but, on the other hand, very materially aids in the obtaining of that knowledge.

Now, I have had some things come to me in the little work that has been done out among the sage brush that have been surprising. I suppose if you should search the world over, you could not find more splendid physical specimens of humanity than the young people, descendants of New England and Missouri and all the country between, who come down out of the mountains, having no money, but eager to get an education, willing to work thirty-five hours a week with their hands, that they may have the privilege of studying the rest of the time. I thought it would require longer to obtain the knowledge from books that we usually gather in school than it would if they did not have this work to do. In that I have been pleasantly disappointed. To my great surprise, I have found that those young men and young women have kept right abreast of the students in the public schools who were studying from books alone and had not the manual work to do. True, there is not quite so much fun in grubbing sage brush as in playing football, but I am not sure that the first will not bring out as splendid character as the last, provided it is a necessity to grub the sage brush. (Applause.) And so I am coming to feel that there is a self poise, if you please, that there is an independence, that there is a manly and womanly bearing in the consciousness of knowing how to do things, knowing how to keep a house and keep it well, knowing how to make a dress and bake a loaf of bread, knowing how to farm, and do it well, knowing how to make a broom, how to shoe a horse, and all these things—I say there is a mental poise, there is an esthetic thing, if you please, that will equal that which is taught in the so-called schools of higher education. And so I believe that in our time and in the time coming very soon, we shall find in all the public schools of all the land departments where the boys and girls will be taught every useful industry. And as I look upon your labor troubles—and we have them out in our mountains, you know what times we have had in Idaho, in the Coeur de Leon country, and also in Colorado—the difficulty has been that these people are ignorant.

They have had the muscular development with no brain development, and in order to have a well-rounded man—and that is the man we have got to have in this country to have a safe citizen—you must have an enlightened sense truly, but you must have a conscience and also the ability to earn a livelihood, and that ability takes away, in proportion as the person possesses it, the despising of another who is doing perhaps what is called manual employment. When we come to realize this fact and all of our young people grow up to acknowledge this great thing, that no useful labor required for the happiness of man is in itself and cannot possibly be in itself, disreputable, or disgracing, to any one who does it, so that we shall look upon the boy or the man who faithfully, honestly, thoroughly and well blacks the President's boots, as honorable as the President himself, having as good character the one as the other, we shall do away with this class feeling. Now, as I take it, there is the difficulty. The laboring man looks upon the man who is running an automobile and he envies him and he says, "He looks down upon me; that man thinks I belong to the soil, that I am a stepping-stone for him to climb up on." Now, in that better time when each shall know that the other does and therefore will be able to sympathize with him, we shall have a better state of things, and these evils will be wiped out. So that I stand, whether it be among the sage brush or whether it be in your clubs here in Chicago, I stand for the three H's, the education of the head, the hand and the heart, and with such education this which our friend President Pritchett has presented to us in such very strong terms and which will be food for thought for us for weeks to come, and what the President of Pomona College has also emphasized, the finding of the citizen, that is the safe citizen, upon which our country can safely rest with all her interests, will come out of this new, and, I believe, better education. And we are rapidly coming to it. I have been pleased in going into this east land, and especially into the New England states, to find there the

public schools having everywhere, in the larger cities at least, splendid manual training institutions. They do not give time enough yet to it, sometimes two hours twice a week or something of that kind, but they will find by and by that the student is benefited, that he is benefited morally and he is benefited intellectually, and he is benefited physically by having the one plus the other. Work half a day, study half a day, and he will be the well-developed man.

That is the thing we stand for. I would like to give you the history of the sixty odd young men, sons of shepherds and cowboys and miners, who have come down out of the fastnesses and the hills, and over two hundred applied and could not be received, but those splendid young people would compare with any that can be found in this country anywhere. In that early day the great men of this country upon whom the country has relied, and who have caused us to be honored by all the nations of Europe, came out of those log cabins, came out of those rocky hills of New England; and now in this later day you shall find some just such great men coming out of those hills and coming out from among those sheep herders and coming down from the mountains, from those men who fight against the contending laws of nature and who have wrestled their way out and so have developed full manhood. If there is one danger more than another which I feel as I move among you, my friends, it is that the very success which has come to us will be, after all, our great failure. For if, indeed, it shall come to pass that our success causes our successors to feel that they have no need of wrestling and look down upon men who do wrestle, then it will be a calamity indeed, that we have ever had any schools. It would have been better for us if we had always lived in the log cabin and always driven our oxen and always had the pure character and the pure air and good health which we have in this state and the state I came from, Wisconsin.

And so I look for the coming of the time when we shall have men, such men as were discussed—and how I love to think of it—by that man who was, himself, one of the true men and came from this same class and from these same circumstances, who wrote:

“God give us men. A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office cannot kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who have opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can face the Demagogue’s vain babble,
Receive his servile flattery without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the rabble,
In public duty and in private thinking.
For where the rabble, with their lip-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, Lo! Freedom weeps;
Wrong rules the land and waiting Justice sleeps.”

(Applause.)

The Toastmaster: Gentlemen, if you will permit me to drop into the Western vernacular, I merely wish to state that three of a kind beat two pair. (Laughter.) The meeting is adjourned.



UNION LEAGUE CLUB
CHICAGO

EXERCISES

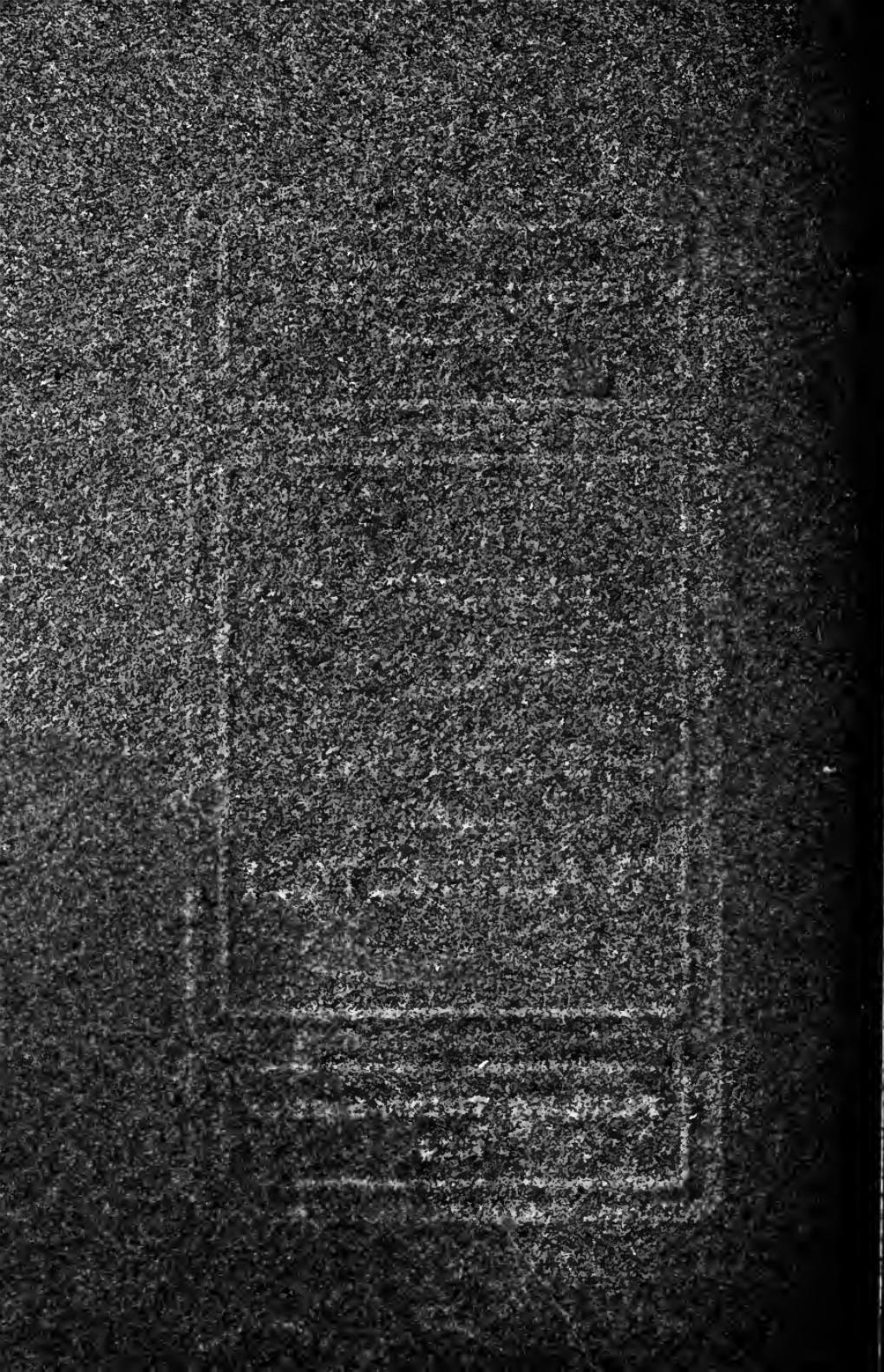
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OF THE

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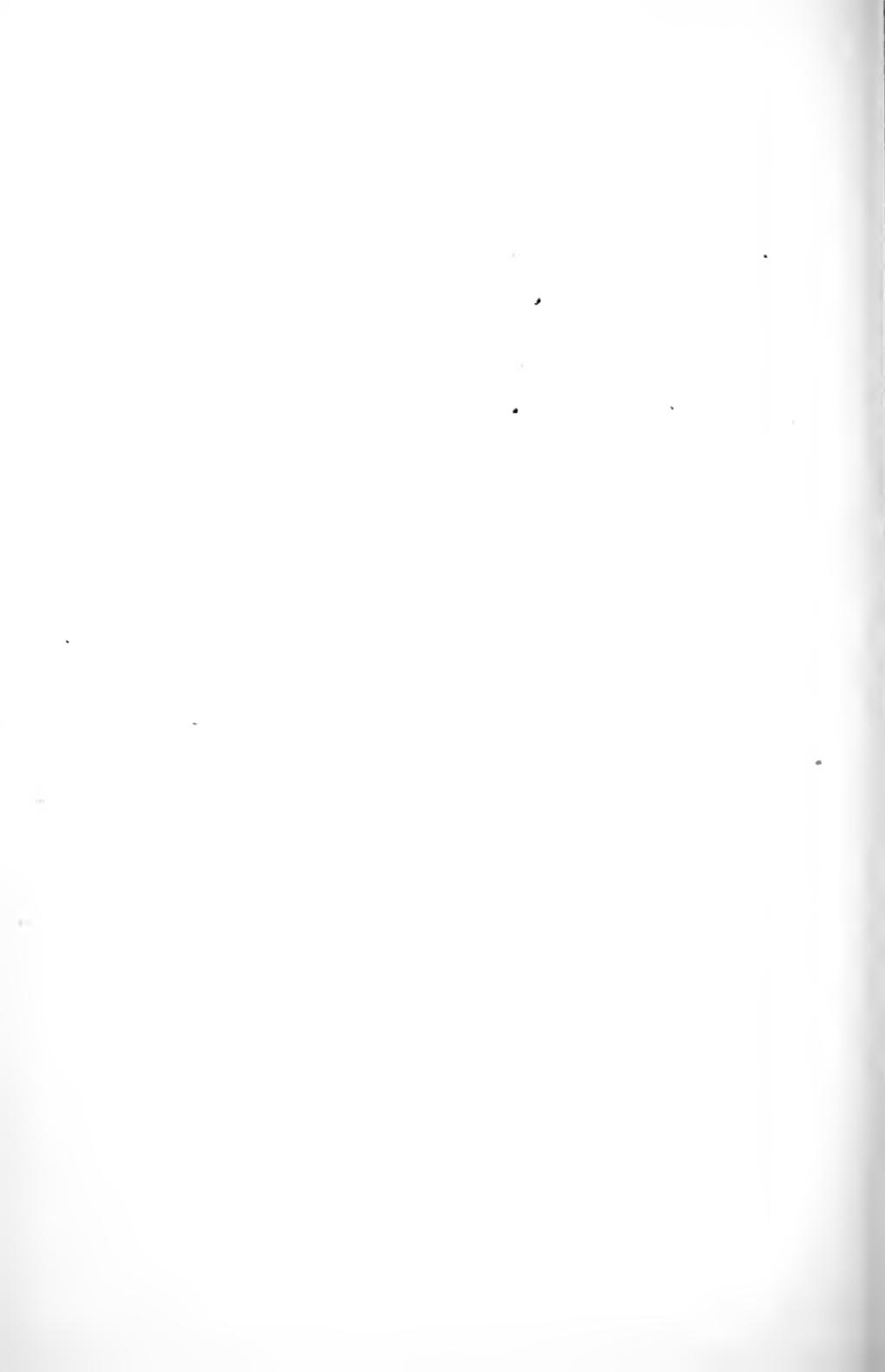
...OF...

WASHINGTON

FEBRUARY TWENTY-SECOND
1906



Washington
—
(Union)





UNION LEAGUE CLUB
CHICAGO



Exercises in Commemoration

OF THE

Birthday of Washington

February twenty-second
Nineteen hundred and six



PRESS OF
SHEA SMITH & COMPANY
CHICAGO

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MORNING EXERCISES

AUDITORIUM, HALF AFTER TEN O'CLOCK

MR. WILLIAM P. SIDLEY—PRESIDING

ORGAN SELECTION

27TH INFANTRY BAND

CHORUS—COLUMBIA

"ALL IN A GARDEN FAIR"—WATSON
HYDE PARK HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS' GLEE CLUB
O. E. ROBINSON, DIRECTOR

SELECTION—27TH INFANTRY BAND

ADDRESS "THE AMERICAN BOY"—JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY

"COMRADES IN ARMS"—ADAMS
HYDE PARK HIGH SCHOOL BOYS' GLEE CLUB

CHORUS—"STAR SPANGLED BANNER"

SELECTION—27TH INFANTRY BAND

ADDRESS—HONORABLE WILLIAM H. TAFT

AMERICA

ORGAN POSTLUDE

MR. H. W. FAIRBANK, MUSICAL DIRECTOR

MORNING EXERCISES

Exercises in commemoration of the birthday of Washington at the Auditorium Theater in Chicago, Illinois, Thursday, February 22, 1906, at 10:30 A. M., under the auspices of the Union League Club of Chicago.

Mr. William P. Sidley presided at the Morning Meeting.

After musical selections by the 27th Infantry Band, the singing of "Columbia" in chorus, and the rendering of "All in a Garden Fair" by the Hyde Park High School Girls' Glee Club, Mr. Sidley introduced the first speaker of the morning, as follows:

"On behalf of the Union League Club of Chicago I welcome this splendid audience of young people to the exercises of this day, which have long been an annual event in the life of the Club, and of the High Schools of Chicago. These exercises are planned with the purpose and in the hope of arousing in the youth of this city, into whose keeping, in part, the problem and the destinies of this great nation must soon be committed, a deeper loyalty to our common country and a higher appreciation of the value and the sacred obligations of American citizenship. For the consideration of this inspiring theme no time could be more opportune than this anniversary day, which has been set apart by a grateful nation to commemorate the public and private virtues of its foremost citizen. Equally appropriate is the subject of this morning's address—The American Boy—for in him is bound up the future of American citizenship. And finally, there is a peculiar fitness in the presentation of this subject by one who is, himself, at heart, still an American boy, and whose best thought, both in and out of his profession, is given to the other boys and girls of his adopted State.

"It is my very great pleasure to introduce to you as the speaker of this hour the Honorable Ben. B. Lindsey, author of the Juvenile Court Law of Colorado, and the Judge by whom that law is interpreted and administered in the city of Denver."

JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY, DENVER

THE AMERICAN BOY.

We meet to do honor to the memory of George Washington. History presents no character whose life so completely sums up all the admirable qualities which make noble manhood. No life more completely furnishes to youth the power of a good example,—and a good example in man is of greater value to boys and girls than sermons preached or precepts taught.

Preaching is necessary, precepts are necessary, but of course the greatest force for good in life is the man who not only knows the right, but does the right every hour and every day of his life; who is loyal to truth, loyal to principle, and who loves his country better than his party,—and above all, loves his fellow-man. This is patriotism; this is religion.

The life of Washington furnishes this inspiration to the American boy; and of all Americans he rightly comes first in the hearts of little children.

I know a little Russian Jewish boy in Chicago. His father has consumption and came for health to the pure, sweet air of our mountain country. This little fellow has only been in America two years, and struggling as he is against poverty and disease, I have for his determination in the face of difficulties the greatest admiration. I asked him if he had ever heard of an American in Russia, and he promptly replied he had heard of only one, and that was George Washington; and when he came to America, the first man he wanted to know about was the first President of the Republic. While the ignorance of his benighted land had forbidden him the education which you enjoy, it could not keep from his little heart the knowledge of Washington; and even to this child, born under a different flag, George Washington

was his first great example in truth, in patriotism, and loyalty to the right. If you could hear, as I have heard, this Russian boy tell of his hardships, and the sufferings of his people under the iron heel of monarchy, and then see the light in his eyes as he speaks with loving words of Theodore Roosevelt, who next to Washington and Lincoln, for centuries to come, will rank as the noblest example to the youth of the nation, you would be dull indeed not to feel a thrill of patriotic pride to know that you are an American boy—a citizen of the greatest nation in the history of the world. When we look about this country of ours today, and behold its wonderful prospects and the great opportunities for those who are to guide its destinies, secure its happiness and everlasting peace, we may well conclude there has never been a moment in the history of time that should so bestir the hearts of the nation's youth as this moment. Never before could we feel more pride in the nation's progress or more joyous hope of even greater things to come.

It is a time of all times for the fighting men; not the boasting bully; not the self-seeker; not the plunderer of the people and the poor; but it is the time for those whom our President calls the "doers of the word." The very prospect of doing good for others, doing good for our city, our State and Nation—in order that perfect peace, prosperity and happiness may come to the people, should fill us to the brim with enthusiasm to stand always for the right. For it is only by this course that we can hope to preserve the liberties and privileges of American citizens.

It is an unfortunate thing that thousands of boys have perverted notions of the true soldier. The qualities that made Washington the great soldier that he was, that enabled him to overcome difficulties, to conquer and to win the final triumph are the qualities that are needed now, every day you live, even more than they ever were in war. It was the long preparation, the ability to endure defeat, discouragement and hardships, that seasoned and prepared the great leader and his soldiers for the victories they won. The man may be a coward in civic life that was first to respond to martial music, to the shouts of maddened men, the clash of bayonets, and to face the cannon's mouth. The world is growing tired of the tented field, but not of the qualities of the true

soldier. The best soldier the world ever saw was a Jew. He taught that which Jews and Gentiles all believe—that love is the supreme law, love for our fellow men, kindness and unselfishness; yet his life was a battle. He fought evil. His fight was for men—not against men—for manhood and not against manhood.

The Jew of Nazareth was the wealthiest man in the tide of time. He gave to the world all there was of his great wealth; for He was unselfish and He gave himself. He gave us neither gold nor silver. He had charity for us all. He fought for us all. He was firm in the right. His weapons were not of the cannon or the sword. Who can imagine Him clad in armor, and wielding the burnished steel? This Jew, the Son of one of the noblest races from the hand of God, taught us to overcome evil with good, not with force or hate, not with the sabre's stroke or the rifle's fire, or the degrading lash.

Boys and girls, you are the men and women of tomorrow. The reins of government will soon fall into your hands. For nearly six years, as a young man, remembering my boyhood of only yesterday, I have had experience with the troubles of men and boys, and boys and men, and I find that the faults of the one are the faults of the others, and the lesson I have to leave with you, if you do good in the world, is to learn to fight men less and fight evil more—fight boys less and fight the evil in them more. Boys or men who have been so weak that they have erred and fallen, and have even deserved to lose our respect, must be redeemed to righteousness, must be redeemed to society—they cannot be driven from it.

Every honest man and every honest boy is of inestimable value to the community. He may not know it, but it goes without saying, that the community is no better than the individuals composing it. The fight ahead of us then is for the individual—for the man—and the best time to fight for a man is when he is a boy. A man, after all, is nothing but a combination of emotion, of feelings, and of certain qualities which make or unmake character, and these qualities are best made, best unfolded or best formed during the golden period of childhood and youth.

We have a right to expect much of every boy; and boys have a right to expect much of men and women. There can be no

justification for the wrong act of any boy. There is no excuse for dishonesty or untruthfulness. It is these things that are bad, and while from one point of view I don't count the boy bad, still no matter what his situation in life, if he is guilty of these things, if he is not strong enough to resist them, or correct them before he becomes a man, he is sure to be a disgrace to himself and a failure in the world. He may make money; he may seem to succeed; but the mere making and hoarding of money, we are learning more every day, is the poorest test of real success. In fact, the most miserable, contemptible failures among men are being counted against those whose lives have been devoted solely to the hoarding of material wealth. There are men in New York City who would give all their millions if their good name could be returned. They found to their sorrow that a good reputation does not always mean a good character, though you may be sure a good character will through every trial sustain a good reputation.

No man questions the necessity for a certain amount of material wealth, in order to wage successfully the battle of life; but let us not forget that we must be useful first. The satisfaction of doing something for others, for the city, for the state, the satisfaction of founding a home and a family of your own, and bringing up children in the way they should go, is the surest satisfaction and the greatest joy that can come to any life. A boy has a right to the proper aids that he may be equipped with strength and knowledge, to know how to make for himself and within himself those divine qualities necessary to live the manly life.

There are over one hundred thousand boys brought to the jails and courts of this country every year, largely because they start handicapped in the race of life. They had no father, as you may have, or if they had a father, he did not do his duty as a father. He had no kind friends; he hadn't half a chance; he was presented with constant opportunities for evil, and denied opportunities for good; and without wishing to excuse the boy who does wrong, or be an apologist for the criminal class, I have for most such boys a certain amount of sympathy—but this does not mean justification for any wrongdoing.

I ask a word of comfort for the tens of thousands of poor,

struggling mothers in this Republic, whose homes have been blighted by death, by divorce, by desertion, and the awful evils that come from drink. We should love the children of such homes. They should have our sympathy, our constant thought—for where they are helpless without fault, they ought to be assisted, and it becomes our duty to our brothers, through the power of the state, or the power of individual fortunes, which are builded largely by the toil of those who do not possess them, to come to the relief of those who are overburdened by conditions for which they are not responsible. I wish to see American boys more thoughtful for their brothers. A friend of mine in New York told me that in his Sunday-school class, in a church on Fifth Avenue, there were boys as old as thirteen and fourteen years, who were to become the heirs to millions, who actually did not know that in that great city there was one child tearful from the pangs of hunger or the chill of winter. But he said when he took those boys down among the tenements, down among their suffering little brothers and sisters, the air of snobbery departed, and there came a fellow feeling for their poor brothers of the street. How much better it is to come together, to know each other, to understand, to love and serve, than to stand apart with a great gulf between, and the clouds of hate above. Hate is the vilest thing in the world. No boy or man ever gained a thing by hate. Let us have kind thoughts and love for the hundreds of thousands of children in industrial slavery—said by some to be nigh two millions—little ones who work and toil before their time. Of course you and I believe in the gospel of work. I pity the boy who does not work. I think he is one of the most contemptible creatures in the world. I honor the boy who wins in the face of hardships. I do not believe in an easy time for boy or man.

Theodore Roosevelt has best taught us that, and the boy who does not learn it has failed in his first great lesson, and if I were to advise an American boy as to the best thing to prepare for the duties of citizenship, I would say to read and remember the “Strenuous Life.” But there is work and work. There is the right kind of work, and a time to work—a time to study—and a time to play; and yet it should be the wish and determination of every American boy, so far as he can, to see that no American

boy is denied childhood's sacred rights, that no brother of his is condemned to the long hours and the sweat-shop, to the cotton mills and the blast works and the mines; that his brothers should not be offered up as a sacrifice to the Moloch of greed and selfishness that feasts upon his little body; and the American boy, as boy or man, can know and understand and fight for wise child-labor laws, that the strength of the Republic, so sadly needed in the tomorrow to assist you in the fight ahead, shall not be drawn upon now by those who care for money more, and manhood less.

In the past millions of boys have not been given a square deal; I have seen them by the thousands in all the great cities of this country, and I know they are more neglected than dumb, driven cattle; and when I made this statement to a business man in one of our great cities, he promptly admitted its truth, but said that the cattle were worth killing, and thousands of the boys were not.

The child of the rich is never to be envied, no matter how we view the case. I have visited prisons, jails, and hovels of misery and despair, and of all the places I ever visited, that filled me with both pity and contempt, it has been certain great resorts, where the youth of so-called wealthy satiate themselves with ease and comfort. I have hope for every poor boy, but we should have a contempt for the wealthy parent who permits the boy to be debauched with luxury, riches and an easy time. Of all unfortunate children they are at the same time to be pitied the most, and the most to be feared for the harm they do. While there are many cases of worthless, no-account boys, we know that the great majority of our American boys are the best in the world. They are quick, intelligent, bright, active, industrious, generous, courteous and kind.

The great majority of boys who go wrong do so because mothers or fathers did not know them, or there was no father or mother; or if there was, it were better they had not been born. Even for his serious faults I could never frame an indictment against the American boy; but there might well be an indictment, and that indictment would be against careless fathers and mothers, and the selfish citizen in business and official life who sets a bad

example, and thousands of those we may charge as traitors to childhood's sacred cause.

The boys and girls who are assembled here today in this second great city of the Republic will, in a few years, be the fathers, the mothers, the business men, the law-makers of the nation. Perhaps you may be "the child that is father to the man;" perhaps you may learn to know the duty of men and women to childhood's cause, and knowing, do that duty when the time shall come.

You know the value of companionship, you know the help it is to every boy to be a companion to his father, and you know what it means to praise and be praised, and you know what it is to appreciate and be appreciated, and you know what it is to be fussed at and cussed at; and while I have not much use for the boy that can't stand correction for his faults, I have a certain amount of sympathy with the boy whose life is made up of continual nags and don'ts.

I hold there are certain inalienable rights of American boys to do certain things which have been especially claimed by the boys in all ages; and among them is the pursuit of a certain amount of happiness which comes from enduring and risking dangers. I believe they were once partially summed up by someone as falling out of bed, falling down stairs, stiffening his legs between a high chair and the dinner table and falling backward with a dull, sickening thud, going to sleep in the bath tub without turning the water off, imagining the window ledge of the third story front a river bank, and fishing with a pinhook in the street below. Imagining himself a trapeze performer, and jumping from the barn loft to the clothes line. Imagining himself a comet and sliding down the bannister without touching his hands, learning to ride a bucking broncho, learning to swim in water that is over his head, learning to skate on thin ice, learning to play football with boys twice his own size, learning to be a fireman by climbing water spouts, learning to be a soldier by exploding powder in a tea kettle, learning to be a sailor by tattooing his arms and legs with house paint, learning to be a juggler by swallowing the potato peeler, learning to be a man by using his father's razor. I don't think a boy should be put in jail for such things. I believe a little gentleman named Buster Brown does a great many of them,

to our delight. Of course he gets a "licking" occasionally, for there would be no fun without some danger. But the boy should not be wiped off the earth for lugging pets in the house, for eating with his fingers, for asking fool questions, for snuffling, whistling, taking the clock to pieces, whittling the furniture, coming in with muddy boots, losing buttons, handling percussion caps, loud talking, fighting, making faces, teasing the cat, breaking windows, walking over the garden, swiping jam, going swimming, wiping his shoes with the towel, cutting wire with the best scissors, scaring his little sister, sliding down the bannisters, going down stairs four steps at a time, hammering boards, smashing his sister's doll, getting on the roof of the barn; and of course, after these, playing football and baseball, yelling and hollering, and making all the fuss he can on proper occasions; these are the inalienable and God-given rights of an American boy; and I am with the boys to defend them, even with our very lives.

Of course the case of girls is a different thing. It is only the exceptional girl who wants to share these special rights and privileges, which belong to the boy; and then of course if a girl does she is a Tom-boy, and only half a girl after all. And if a boy does not want to share those rights, he is a "sissy-boy" and therefore, just half a boy, after all. But then a boy I know says that "girls were only born as a joke on the kids anyhow." He will change his mind when he gets older.

We need not worry much about the girls. They are most all good; and while there are twenty "bad boys," so-called, to one bad girl, I think the equation is more than made up by the fact that one bad girl is generally worse than twenty bad boys. And so it equally follows that one good little girl is better and sweeter than twenty good little boys. Of all the qualities which we expect in a noble, wholesome boyhood, the one that I would put first, is an unfailing respect, courtesy, kindness, and the purest of thought for every little girl. The truest sign of manhood is in the boy who never thinks or speaks evil of a little girl, who is ever ready to defend her and protect her good name against the bully or the slanderer; the boy who has the clean tongue, and loathes the foul tongue as he would the pestilence.

We are learning more and more every day in this Republic,

that what counts most is character and manhood, and that every American boy has an equal chance to become a useful and respected citizen, if he is faithful, industrious and honest. And this should be the highest goal of his ambition. He may rest assured that however gloomy and pessimistic a view some people may take of the present and of some of the evils that afflict society, let no American boy be tempted into the belief that his chances in the field of usefulness and activity, in the field of honest endeavor, of earnest effort, courageous doing, right thinking, right living, and honest work are any less today than they ever were in the history of the nation. There never were such rewards for honesty, such public esteem for character; and there never was such public disgust, such shame, pity and reproach for dishonesty, as at the present moment. The evil is accentuated, because it is proclaimed to us more than the good; but where there is one dishonest man now, I believe there are a hundred honest men; where there is one dishonest boy, I believe there are a hundred honest boys.

I find, in my experience with thousands of boys, in and out of the Juvenile Court, that the quality most needed for boyhood is the courage to do right, because it is right, and not because you will be punished, or get in jail if you do not do right; to stand up against evil in spite of ridicule, or the sneers and taunts of your companions. Some boys never learn the difference between the weapons of a brave man and the weapons of a coward. In fact, they sometimes mistake the brave boy for a coward and the coward for the brave boy.

There are too many boys who believe in lying all you can, cheating all you can, stealing all you can, so long as you don't get caught. The boys or men who conduct their life by this false standard are the weaklings in society. They may not be in the penitentiary—in fact they seldom are, because they learn to be such smooth sneaks and cheats that they are rarely caught; but there can be no satisfaction in such a life. Money dishonestly gained can furnish no permanent satisfaction, and very seldom any temporary satisfaction. The kind of boys who follow this false standard are to be found in business houses, and they are the fellows who are always watching the clock, who are always

whining, kicking and complaining, and who are afflicted with that twin-brother of this false doctrine, in actually believing it is a good thing to work as little as you can, and get all you can for it.

As against this weakling, give us the boy who works and works hard, not for the amount of money he gets, but for the amount of work and the quality of work he does. This is the boy that wins in the end. This is the boy that takes to heart the lesson that what he is ten years from now, either from the standpoint of money or manhood, does not depend on how much money he is making today, but on how well, how sincerely, how earnestly, and how faithfully he does his work to-day.

I believe in understanding a boy, and having him understand you, and my experience with all sorts of boys is that the great majority of them are square, in spite of their frailties and their errors.

I say it to the credit of the boys who have been in the Juvenile Court in my own city, that out of several thousand brought there by the police department, for offenses, I have never known of a single case where we did not get the truth from the boy in the end; and the reason others did not get the truth, or we did not get the truth at first, was generally because the boy did not have a square deal. You can't get the truth out of a boy by starting in to scare him to death; you can't get the goodwill of a boy by employing the methods of violence, of force, and of hate, simply because it takes a little more time and a little more patience to employ the methods of kindness and of sympathy. Neither does it follow that these are either the methods of leniency or justification. A boy hasn't any more use for the man that is patronizing and weak in dealing with him than he has for the fellow that is coarse and brutal. A boy, as a rule, is not a fool; he knows and he understands, and he is not going to mistake kindness for weakness—unless it is generally the fault of the man who tries to be kind and does not know how. A boy does not like a fellow that is "dead easy." With him, as with a man, it is sometimes just as offensive to be patronized as it is to be abused. I say it is a pretty good test of a boy's loyalty to the officers that are kind and yet firm with him, when he will take his own commitment papers, and go to the reformatory, two hundred and fifty miles

from Denver, or to the industrial school, that involves an hour's ride from the city, three changes of cars, and a long walk into the hills; and so, when I have had to send a boy to jail, or the reform school, or to the reformatory, I have constantly trusted him, no matter how bad he was, no matter what he had done, and over a hundred such boys have taken their commitment papers from my hands, and without anyone watching them, although they might have broken jail, or run away from the city, have gone straight to the reformatory. I say this to the credit of many young fellows who go wrong. They have good in them—if we only strive to bring it out. They are weak rather than vicious. But this is not said by way of excuse for wrong, but rather as enabling us to better understand how to conquer evil. Weakness may lead to just as bad results as viciousness. So I would say that the most important thing for a boy to guard against is that course of conduct—consisting generally in certain bad habits common to many boys, bad associates, carelessness and slovenliness, which in the end will drive you into the ranks of the weaklings. The weaklings are always "quitters," simply because they have not strength of character or manhood enough to be "stickers," either at play or work; and above all, they always lack that rugged firmness called moral courage, so necessary in those trying and important moments of your life, when temptation comes, and you must either stand up for the right, or submit, like a cringing coward, to the powers of evil. You may be sure your quality will be tested, and you will have a chance to be generous, to be kind, to be noble, to be brave, and to be a true soldier every day you live.

Learn to do some one thing well. Know and act on the principle that a man's value to society and ultimate satisfaction with himself depends not on how much wealth or glory he can pile up for himself, but acting with wisdom, sincerity and enthusiasm, or how much he can help others, or how much he can do to make the world better and happier. Don't be afraid of being called a crank. The doers in this world have generally been those who were most maligned and sneered at. If you are going to accomplish any great thing worth while in either business or statecraft, you must be filled with zeal and enthusiasm for your cause;

you must think about it, know about it, dream about it—aye I would almost say you must be half mad about it, before success is assured.

And now do not forget that you are in the most important period of your lives, when character is plastic, when every day you live will determine what you will be in the future. Let the foundation be laid deep and firm, in imperishable truth, courage, common sense and honor, and the superstructure will be what it should be, the greatest gift from God,—a noble manhood,—which will resist all the storm you must face if you accomplish much worth while.

And the best hope I can have for every American boy so equipped, is that you will have a hard time rather than a good time, infinite difficulties rather than ignoble ease, for without these there can never come that meed of genuine joy, success and happiness which is bound to come to the man who does not shirk,—but as a boy, man, home-maker and citizen in the greatest army that ever gathered in defense of the nation, the army without flaunting banners or burnished steel, but whose every soldier is enlisted for the common weal, fighting graft, wrong, dishonesty and evil, the only real enemies of the Republic wherever they rear their hideous heads.

The Hyde Park High School Boys' Glee Club sang "Comrades in Arms," after which the thousands present in the audience joined in the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner." The First Cavalry Bugle Corps gave the various bugle calls of the army, and following a selection by the 27th Infantry Band, Chairman Sidley introduced Secretary of War William Howard Taft in the following words:

"For the first time in the history of these Washington Birthday exercises it is our privilege and distinguished honor to have upon this platform a real, live Secretary of War of the United States. That he is a real secretary and also that he is very much alive, his public record amply attests. That he is also an un-

selfish and generous guest is likewise evident, for, despite the fact that he has already made one speech since his arrival in Chicago yesterday afternoon, and has two more to make before the close of the day, he has kindly consented to address us at this time.

"The Honorable William H. Taft, United States Secretary of War."

HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT

Mr. Chairman, my boys and girls: This scene, while a very much more impressive one, reminds me of one I had the pleasure of witnessing about six months ago, when I met face to face 400 Filipino girls and boys, who were then in the normal school preparing to teach their fellow boys and girls the English language and the rudiments of education. It occurred to me after listening to the very interesting and searching analysis of the American boy's character with which we were honored this morning, that it might also be of interest to you boys and girls to know that this morning—that is, thirteen hours ago—this scene was being enacted in the Philippine islands in fifteen hundred schools; that "The Star Spangled Banner" was being sung in English, and that the memory of George Washington was being revered by those brown-skinned boys and girls as you are revering it here.

And if you will give me a short time, even though it tries your patience to sit here so long, I shall attempt to arouse your interest in the education of your fellow boys and girls some eight or nine thousand miles away from here, who, under the ægis of the American flag, are being led on, I hope, to become self-governing citizens of that archipelago.

Recent history is ordinarily not taught in the schools for the reason that the clouds of battle have to clear away before we know exactly what the facts are; and therefore it may be wise for me to call your attention first to the fact that we got into a war with Spain in 1898 because we thought that she was not treating Cuba right, and that Cuba was so near to our doors that we had a right to interfere and see that the government there was a proper one, one adapted to civil freedom and the uplifting of the people of those islands. We went into the Spanish War. The difficulty about going into any war, no matter how small, is that

you never know where you are coming out. And so, before we knew what we were doing. Admiral Dewey was sailing into Manila Bay, wiping out the Spanish fleet, and the Philippines were on our hands.

Now the question which was presented to our government put us in a three-horned dilemma. First, as we had called in the aid of Aguinaldo and the insurgent forces, could we turn those islands back to Spain? Certainly that wouldn't have been fair. Any boy or girl can tell me, that when he goes into an arrangement with another boy to enter a fight, it isn't fair if he stands by you to go back on him afterward. Secondly, could we turn those islands over to the people in order that they might make their own government? Certainly that would have been a preferable course if it was possible, but those islands lay there on the sea, derelict. Their people, 92 or 93 per cent of them, were totally ignorant and utterly unable, because of lack of experience either in municipal, provincial or central government to establish a government for themselves; and therefore we were driven on to the third horn of the dilemma, to-wit: We must take the islands over; we must teach those people how to become self-governing so that they might be safely trusted to make a government which should be respected in the world. And so we are in the Philippines; have been there five or six years, and are struggling, not for our own aggrandizement nor for the exploitation of the islands for our benefit, but we are there to help those people onto their feet and teach them how to become sound industrially, in intellect and in governmental capacity (applause).

I have not time to tell you what we have done there, first in the suppression of disorder, in the suppression of a highwayman's profession, for that is what it amounted to, highway robbery in bands, which troubled the Spanish government and which we had on our hands and which we used our brave and accomplished soldiers to suppress. I cannot stop to describe the municipal, the provincial and the central governments that were established there. We have secured to the people by law all the constitutional rights that we enjoy here, except the right to bear arms and the right of trial by jury. These exceptions are made for the reason that they are not fitted to enjoy either. We have had internal improve-

ments; we have built a harbor to cost \$6,000,000 in Manila, in Iloilo and another in Cebu and other harbors. We have established a health department, for in that country disease spreads with marvelous rapidity, and the cholera plague and the smallpox are virulent when they begin in that country. We have now moved to establish railways; we have put a street railway in Manila. We have established a sound currency which enables the poor man and the wealthy man to know what his profits in his business will be, not subject to the rapid fluctuations of silver; we have established a court system; but the foundation of what we are doing, that which is most important, is to teach those people what their rights are so that they may exercise discrimination and discretion in determining whether their servants, when they are elected are doing right and doing what the public interest demands. In other words we must educate them up to have sound, public opinions, of which now they are utterly incapable. And the basis of that must first be a primary education and a training school education; and that is what I have started this morning to speak of. The American moved to educate at once. While our soldiers were engaged in fighting the guerrillas in every province in those islands, so strong was inculcated the desire on their part to spread light, learning and education, that from every company was detailed a man, sometimes two men, to institute and begin primary schools and teach the children of the insurgents and the guerrillas who had been left in the towns by their trusting fathers, to teach them while their fathers were fighting the American troops; and in that way began the system of education in the Philippines. When we came on afterward as civilians, we sent to this country for 1,000 teachers, and they came out there and we established the schools.

Now of course it is impossible with the revenues of these islands for us to import into that country the number of American teachers that would be needed, if we were to rely on them to teach the Philippine youth directly, and what we had to do therefore was to teach a lot of Filipinos to teach the Filipino children. The problem we had before us was very difficult, and I must stop to explain to you that while that country has been under Spain for now more than 300 years there is not more than 7 per cent of the people that speak Spanish. The rest of them speak what may

be called barbarous dialects of the Malay language; so that one speaks one dialect and may not understand another. As you go north from Manila for over 25 miles they speak Tagalog; beyond that in Pampanga, they speak Pampangan, and a Pampangan cannot understand Tagalog. When you go north into another province, i. e. Tarlac, they speak Pampangan in the south and in to the north they speak Pangasinan, and so it is with the twelve different dialects. The question with us was, should we teach them Spanish, when but 7 per cent of them knew Spanish? Could we teach them one of these dialects, and if we did which dialect should we select? Or, should we make the basis and teach them a language in which they might study the institutions of freedom and know what civilization meant—the English language (applause). We found that they liked the English language and wanted to learn it, and therefore we imported the American teachers to teach the Filipinos, and the Filipino people who would be teachers of English, in order that they might impart it to their fellow countrymen. Well, we hope to establish a corps of 10,000 Filipino teachers. Those 400 boys and girls whom I met in Manila to whom I have already referred, the flower of the Normal School, listened to me and were able to understand everything I said, even the poor jokes I got off in the English language. It was a scene that would inspire any man who is anxious for the improvement and the uplifting of his fellow men.

Of course, we moved with a good deal of slowness at first, and for the first year the boys and girls were laggard in coming to school, and did not take an interest, and our first attendance was possibly not more than a hundred thousand throughout the archipelago. But each year developed a great interest, and today we have, reading and reciting in the English language, and writing in the English language, a half million Filipino boys and girls, and if we had the millions of money that we ought to have, instead of 25 per cent of all the school youths of these islands, we could have a hundred per cent.

But the trouble is we are dependent on the revenues of the islands, and schools cost a great deal of money. But our purpose is in the course of this generation to accumulate the money and increase the revenues so that the time may come when no Fili-

pino child, boy or girl, can have any excuse for not getting a good, sound education in the English language.

The great hope, that which gives us our confidence in the success of the experiment there, is the interest that the common man, ignorant as he is, and the common woman, ignorant as she is, take in sending their boys and girls to the school near at hand.

Now we had to encounter a great many prejudices. We established training schools or trade schools in Manila, and for the first two or three months we couldn't get anybody, and we inquired the reason. The boys would come understanding that it was a school in which they were to learn something, and when they were told that they were to learn to be machinists or telegraph operators or printers or some other useful trade, "Oh, no," they said, "we are not laborers. We are gentlemen and we desire to be educated not as laborers or workmen; we desire to be educated as escribientes—as clerks. We would rather have ten dollars a month as escribientes or clerks than to get thirty dollars a month as a machinist."

But there is no use fighting against a prejudice. There are people who think you can argue a prejudice out of the minds of people. You can't do that. You can dissolve a prejudice by object lessons, but you can't argue it or whip it out of them. So we just waited. We let those boys who had sense enough to come into the school afford an example to show how they could get good places and earn good wages if they learned their trade. The difficulty was that the Spaniards had inculcated the idea that any manual labor of which the Filipinos are so capable, was the badge of slavery and degradation; and what we have to do is to implant in their minds the dignity of labor and teach them that the only people worthy of civilization who can succeed are an industrial people. And we have done that, at least as to trade schools, because now they are full to overflowing, and we cannot take care of those who apply.

Now it has seemed to me that as this experiment which we are trying there, and of which the honor of the nation requires us to make a successful result, is likely to take more than one generation or two, that I might properly allude to it in the presence of

those who are to make this coming generation and upon whom will fall the responsibility for carrying out the policies of this great government. And if this morning I have awakened the interest of any of the boys and girls here in their fellow countrymen seven thousand miles away, I shall have accomplished the purpose of this address.

I thank you.

At the close of the address by Secretary Taft the immense audience joined in the singing of "America" and dispersed with the concluding voluntary of the organist.

AFTERNOON EXERCISES
WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY
CELEBRATION

AUDITORIUM AT THREE O'CLOCK

PROGRAM

SELECTIONS

BY THE 27TH INFANTRY BAND FROM FORT SHERIDAN

INVOCATION

RT. REV. C. P. ANDERSON

SELECTIONS

27TH INFANTRY BAND

INTRODUCTION

MR. FREDERIC A. DELANO, PRESIDENT OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

ORATION

HONORABLE WILLIAM H. TAFT

AMERICA

THE AUDIENCE IS REQUESTED TO JOIN IN SINGING

MR. ARTHUR HAHN, PRECENTOR

CHICAGO, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY THE TWENTY-SECOND
NINETEEN HUNDRED SIX

AFTERNOON EXERCISES

Union League Club Washington's Birthday celebration, Mr. Frederic A. Delano, President of the Club, presiding.

After selections by the 27th Infantry Band of Fort Sheridan, the Right-Reverend C. P. Anderson delivered the following invocation:

O, Almighty God, our sovereign Lord and Ruler, who hast placed the administration of earthly governments in the hands of men. We thank thee for the great man whom thou hast given to this nation, and for our fathers who begat us, and especially for him whose memory we at this time seek to honor. And we pray thee to continue to vouchsafe thy blessing to this nation. Build it up and sustain it in honor and integrity; protect our homes, secure our liberties, prosper our institutions. Grant us peace and prosperity. Give the spirit of obedience to law to all our people and teach them to regard their citizenship as a trust from thee. Commit the guidance of our affairs to the hands of trustworthy and conscientious men, that virtue may flourish and that righteousness may be exalted among us, to thy honor and glory who livest and reignest one God forever and ever. Amen.

Introducing the speaker of the day, President Delano said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: In the name of the Union League Club I bid you all a hearty welcome.

The Union League had its birth during the Civil War. It was during those stirring times that there was started in the northern states the so-called "Union League," an organization whose object it was to promote loyalty and patriotism. The movement began in Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, and spread from there to the neighboring states. At that time there was a very natural and spontaneous outburst of enthusiastic loyalty to the cause of the Union which represented the established government and the hope of a united country.

But, as might have been expected, the League, as a whole, died out with the Civil War, leaving only in some of the larger cities Union League Clubs, of which the Club of New York City is the most prominent today.

Inspired by the same high-minded motives, but without any of the glamour of war-time enthusiasm, the Chicago Union League Club was founded. It was in 1880—in a period of profound peace—when a handful of our citizens got together and chartered this Club. They appreciated that while loyalty to the government and patriotism were absolutely necessary in war times, they were quite as necessary in times of peace, yet much more difficult to command. Thus it was that our Union League Club was founded, and dedicated to the establishment of these three principles: First, to the hearty and loyal support of the government; second, to clean politics in city and state; third, to good fellowship.

As soon as the Club became an organization of recognized standing and strength in the community, the leaders of the movement determined that they must do something to promote the patriotic purposes for which the Club had been founded, and so it happened that the birthday of Washington, our great Revolutionary hero, the first President of our beloved country, was chosen for an annual patriotic meeting.

That the plan was a wise one, no one today doubts, for it is better appreciated than ever, that the strength of the country may be sapped by discordant elements and indifference to public weal even more than by war.

In the twenty years that have elapsed, some of the greatest orators and statesmen of this country and of England have addressed large and enthusiastic audiences, and throughout this time we have maintained for the school children a morning meeting at least equally important and far-reaching in its effects. It is a self-evident proposition that it is a benefit to all of us to hark back once a year, if no oftener, to the principles our forefathers sought to establish, and renew our enthusiasm by a better appreciation of our mission and duty. Macaulay and other historians have said that the real test of the permanence of a democracy such as ours would come when our country was filled up and our resources overtaxed, and thinking men, however sanguine they may

be, appreciate the truth of this statement. With this danger still before us, it is all the more important that we should ever bear in mind the blessings of a united country; the hopes and ideals of our forefathers; the deeds of bravery and self sacrifice which have saved the country to us, and once a year, at least, we must reflect, as to what we must do in our own day and generation to pass this precious heritage to those who are to come after us, free, unincumbered, unimpaired.

The Union League Club is very fortunate today in having as its guest of honor a man who has already done his full share of patriotic duty. His public career began at the age of twenty-four, when he was appointed prosecuting attorney of Hamilton County, Ohio, and since that time he has been almost continuously in public service—as collector of internal revenue, as solicitor of Hamilton County, as Judge of the Superior Court, as Solicitor General, as United States Circuit Judge for eight most memorable years; then four years as President of the Philippine Commission, and the first Civil Governor of the Philippine Archipelago. The services of Judge Taft on the United States Circuit Court were of so high an order that the country generally recognized the wisdom of his appointment by President McKinley to that very difficult and delicate mission in the Philippine Islands, and the record of Governor Taft in the Philippines redounds to the credit of our common country as an example of the very best American citizenship.

The country has rejoiced to have Governor Taft return again, and to have had him receive, at the hands of the President, so just a reward for his devotion to public duty in a place of the utmost responsibility in the President's cabinet. Therefore, it is more than an ordinary privilege which I have in presenting to you the distinguished orator of the day, the Honorable William Howard Taft, Secretary of War, who will address you.

HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT

THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is now somewhat more than two years ago that the Union League Club honored me by a cable request to the Island to be one of its orators on Washington's birthday. I don't remember how long ago it is since I was unwise enough to accept that invitation, but it was certainly so long ago that it seemed to me at the time that the date for the performance of the duty would never come. Unfortunately that expectation has not been realized.

The work which it has been mine to do has been so confining, so absorbing and so exclusive that I don't know anything about anything except the Philippines, the Panama Canal, the army, and the best method of organizing a matrimonial excursion. Now the Philippines I discussed this morning; the Panama canal I expect to have something to say about tonight; and a matrimonial excursion, however interesting, might become a little too personal for an occasion like this. So there is only left for your consideration and mine this afternoon that of the Army of the United States.

It may prove to some a dry subject. I am afraid I shall have to treat it in a very sober way. But as this association is organized for the purpose of considering public questions, questions that go to the root of our civilization, questions that are of the utmost importance to the public weal. I purpose to test your patriotism this afternoon by an outrageously long and altogether too sober discussion of something which to me has within the last two or three years developed to an importance that seems to justify a full discussion of it.

Among the many important political topics which the birthday

of George Washington suggests is the Army of the Republic. Many of the years of his life which were most valuable to his country were spent in the command of an army which won for us our independence from Great Britain, and which was the immediate predecessor of the Army of the United States. During all his long career he gave great attention to the public need there was for the maintenance of a small but efficient regular army, and the last office which he held under the government of the United States that he had done so much to create and maintain, was the office of Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, which he held from the 3rd of July, 1798 until his life went out with the century on the 14th of December, 1799.

The first question which suggests itself is—Does the Republic need an army? There is an indefinite, elusive but influential impression in the minds of many that there is something in a regular army inconsistent with the purposes of a republic. It derives its force from the uses to which regular or standing armies have been put in maintaining governments over unwilling people. The election of an emperor by the Praetorian Guard, the suppression of a parliament by the army under Cromwell, and the many other instances in history in which the will of the people has been perverted by trained soldiery, are used to point the moral that in a government of the people by the people and for the people, a standing army should be looked upon with suspicion and reduced to the lowest number. The organization of a republic, however, does not prevent the possibility of war, as our history has clearly shown. It may be that a whole people who will suffer directly the loss and burdens of war are less likely to enter into national conflict than when the die may be cast by an absolute ruler or one over whom the popular will exercises but little control. The movement toward the enlargement of popular influence in all governments whether monarchical or republican in form, has doubtless exercised a beneficent influence to reduce the probability of war growing out of the personal ambition or desire for power, military glory or aggrandizement of sovereigns. Still there have been a good many wars in this century and they have sometimes proceeded not from the per-

sonal wish of the sovereign or those directly responsible for the government, but from the difficulty of restraining the popular desire for war. Still, making every concession which history justifies in favor of the peaceful character and the peaceful tendency of a republic, he is a very unwise statesman who urges upon the people a policy which will reduce the efficiency and size of the army below that which the experience of the republic has taught was necessary for its safety and progress.

In this republic we need an army for three purposes: first, as essential to any satisfactory system of national defense; second, as an indispensable instrument in carrying out our established international policy; and third, which I may say is the least important function, the suppression of insurrection and civil strife. Taking up these in their order let us quote from Washington. In 1798, while he was still President, he used these words:

"Offensive operations, oftentimes, are the surest, if not in some cases, the only, means of defense."

"It has been, very properly, the policy of our government to cultivate peace. But, in contemplating the possibility of our being driven to unqualified war, it will be wise to anticipate, that frequently, the most effectual way to defend is to attack."

Again he said:

"I cannot recommend measures for the fulfillment of our duties to the rest of the world without pressing the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defense and of exacting from them the fulfillment of their duties toward us."

"To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace."

Again:

"A free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined. To this end a uniform and well digested plan is requisite."

In his farewell address he advised his countrymen to remember "that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevented much greater disbursements to repel it," and also advised them to take "care always to keep themselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture."

John Adams, his successor as president, said that "The national defense is the cardinal duty of a statesman."

Secondly, we have taken the position with respect to the republics established in this country in Central and South America and the West Indies, which is approved by both the great national parties and which has been repeatedly announced as the policy of the Government by various presidents and secretaries of state. I allude to the Monroe doctrine. There are differences of opinion as to what this doctrine includes, and as to how and with what limitations, it ought to be stated. Speaking generally, however, it is an assertion on the part of the United States to the European and other powers of the world that no interference with the Central and South American and West Indian governments by European powers will be permitted which shall have for its object and result the acquisition by the European powers of the territory of such nations for colonization or territorial aggrandizement. This is not a doctrine sustained by any principles of international law; it is a governmental policy which this government believes to be essential for its own interests and well for the interests of the countries whose integrity it protects. Whatever the motive, whatever the purpose, the assertion involved must rest for its sanction, not upon international law, acquiesced in by all civilized nations, but rather upon the power to enforce it of the nation which asserts it. By virtue of this doctrine we in effect and for defensive purposes extend the frontiers of the United States far beyond the actual confines of our territory, to Central America and the Islands of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea to the mouths of the Orinoco and the Amazon, to Magellan and Tierra del Fuego. As we assume the right, so we must undertake the responsibility of measures for the defense of those boundaries whenever, for the purposes of disturbing the integrity of any of the many nations thus included, a foreign force shall invade their borders. How could we maintain such a doctrine if it should ever be questioned in the strenuous race for trade and for colonization that now is rife among the European powers? Could we do it otherwise than by an expeditionary force to the country invaded for the purpose of assisting the local forces in repelling the invader? It is true that our navy, en-

larged as it is, would discharge a most useful function in the defense of the invaded country, but it could make but little headway against hostile forces landed therein, and after that, the only method of asserting our international policy would be by the use of the army of the United States.

Third. In the matter of the suppression of insurrection and civil strife during the great Rebellion, of course the necessity for raising an immense army for this purpose was shown, but I do not conceive that under present conditions in this country there is any probability of domestic insurrection which will require more than the use of the improved National Guard of the states, by the state authorities themselves. It is true that in 1877 and in 1894 it seemed necessary to call upon the army of the United States to suppress local disturbances. But this is to the army itself a very unpleasant duty. It is one to which the President would summon the regular troops with great reluctance, and in the notable increase in the efficiency of the militia, to which I shall hereafter refer, the regular army is not likely to be called often into requisition. More than this, a much smaller regular army than we now have would serve this purpose in the remote contingency of a call for its use.

In the popular consideration of the necessity for an army there enters a feeling, illogical as it may seem, that an army in time of peace is not maintained and administered to be used for a war. There seems to be an impression that it exists merely for show, that it is to be regarded only as a symbol of power, the real instrument of which is to be created after the war shall begin, like the mace which is carried before the Speaker of the House of Commons, or the truncheon of a field marshall, or the scepter of a king. This conception of an army in time of peace has in the past led a usually practical and hard headed people like the Americans to the most absurd military policy. An army is not to look at; an army is not for ceremony; an army is not a mere symbol of future power to be developed.

If there were no possibility of war; if we could be guaranteed a continuous peace, the army should be disbanded, and its great cost to the government should cease, but it is because peace can not be guaranteed; it is because we must secure peace by being

ready for war that we have an army and therefore the army is not to be looked at—it is to make war. Now if an army is to make war, if that is the sole ground for its maintenance, then does it not seem a mere truism that the expenditure should be adapted to make it useful in war? Of course no one desires war. "War is hell," and should be avoided, not at all cost, but by making every honorable concession possible to escape its disastrous consequences. But the conditions which surround national life as between nations have not reached a point in the progress of civilization when war and the fear of war do not play a large part in determining the policies of governments. The voice of the United States in favor of international justice is much more weighty when it is known to have a good navy and a good army to enforce its views and defend its rights.

If, now, an army exists only to make war, the people whose army it is, if they are a practical people, should bring that army to a state of the greatest efficiency possible to vindicate its existence when occasion arises and accomplish the purpose of its creation. It is true that the existence of an efficient army may prevent war without actual hostilities, by convincing the threatening power of the futility or seriousness of a contest. But for the purpose of this discussion it is immaterial whether the army is to be used in actual warfare, or to give force and effect with other nations to announced national policies, because in either case the usefulness of the army must depend on its known or anticipated efficiency in carrying out the national will.

The history of this country since the beginning of the Revolutionary War shows that during at least one-fourth of the life of the country the government has had a war on its hands in some part of its dominions. It is therefore most unwise to prophesy as to what may happen in this respect in the future. The only lamp by which our steps can be guided is the lamp of experience, and a prudent nation should accept the recurrence of wars in our history as an evidence of the wisdom of Washington's advice in respect to the preparation of the national defense. But the people of this country and the government of this country down to the time of the Spanish war had pursued a policy which seemed utterly to ignore the lessons of the past. By the exercise of na-

tional parsimony and a prejudice against the efficiency of an army and the making of proper plans for the organization of national volunteers, and the drill and mobilization of the militia, the government and the people were compelled to assume the responsibility for great losses of life and expenditure of immense treasure, a large part of which might have been avoided, had proper and economical measures been adopted for the maintenance of a small but efficient regular army and the due preparation in time of peace for the speedy organization and mobilization of a volunteer and militia force.

Take the War of 1812. The regular army at the outbreak in June, 1812, was 6,744 strong. Great Britain had in Canada less than 4,500 regulars. If our military force had been adequate to the country's needs, we could have stepped into Canada and possessed ourselves of that country easily and at first. But because of our weakness we were for a time disgracefully beaten, and the war was drawn out so that before its conclusion we could reckon in addition to the humiliation suffered, that we had to put in the field from first to last during that war, 527,000 men; and that while in the twenty-one years preceding the aggregate cost of the War Department was but \$35,669,000, it was for the five years following, \$82,627,000, and in addition thereto we have paid to pensioners on account of that war a sum approaching \$50,000,000. An adequate force of regulars, if it had not prevented the war entirely, would have cut it short and saved life, money and humiliation. Illustrations from every war in which this country has been engaged, and notably the great Civil War, would enforce the principle even more strongly than the War of 1812.

It is a fact, whether the American citizens realize it or not, that time is indispensable to the making of good soldiers. Our own sad experience proves this proposition. The lessons of history should forbid us to stand in an atmosphere of illusion respecting the remoteness of war, and the efficiency of a brave but unorganized people to grapple successfully with another nation equally brave but better organized. We must have forces trained and ready to enable us to meet a possible foe with some chance of success. We cannot and should not maintain a large regular army, but for a nation of eighty millions, or, counting in the peo-

ple who live in our dependencies, nearly ninety millions of people, a regular army of 100,000 men is a small force, considering especially the fact of the remoteness of the Philippines, the Isthmus of Panama, Porto Rico and Alaska. It is a less percentage of the population than was the army in Washington's time, in Jefferson's time, or indeed in Madison's time. In addition to the regular army, there should be a provision for an efficient reserve of national volunteers, and such a plan for the cooperation of the militia forces of the States with the Federal government and its military establishment as to make that force effective to repel invasion and constitute an effective part of our national defense. When this country has had to wage war, the troops upon which it had to rely were in large part men, who, when they shouldered their guns and were brought first into battle, had never been subjected to military drill or military discipline, and it has required time to prepare them to be useful. We have an instructive example in another Republic, which demonstrates the possibility of organizing and preparing an army of militia which shall constitute in a very few weeks a strong, effective army. I refer to the Army of Switzerland. The Constitution of Switzerland forbids the creation and maintenance of a standing army, but their law like ours, makes every one between certain ages subject to military duty and a part of their army, and so wise have they been in their preparation to meet the aggressions of their neighbors, so fearful have they been of losing their liberties, and so closely have they studied the art of preparing to put into the field a trained militia force which will constitute a trained army, that in a month they could mobilize and put into the field 200,000 men competent to meet the drilled armies of Europe and protect the sacred soil of Switzerland from the invader. I cannot for lack of time explain the system, and I freely admit that the circumstances surrounding that country and the customs and the habits of the people there, are much better adapted to the achievement of such a result as that I have stated, than are the conditions that obtain in this country; but I merely cite this instance to show the possibilities with respect to a preparation for war, even in a country in which by virtue of the terms of the Constitution a standing or regular army is impossible.

How has it come about that the people in America, strong, intelligent, practical, masterful and warlike, have adopted such a military policy, or lack of policy, in times past as to have brought about the enormous loss of life and money which might have been avoided by the adoption of merely reasonable precautions to secure an adequate military force in case of national emergency. The reasons are not far to seek, and are continually manifesting themselves at every stage of our political life. In the first place there are strong Anglo-Saxon traditions against a standing army. The abuses which have been perpetrated against a people by such an army our people do not forget. So deeply impressed are they that they even object to the maintenance of a force so small in proportion to the size of the country, that the suggestion of its use to subjugate the people would be ridiculous.

Again our geographical position, three thousand miles from the European shores, and six or seven thousand miles from the Asiatic shores, has given us a sense of security against foreign attack, which was much more justified in Washington's time than it is today, because the perilous and slow navigation of the ocean has now been succeeded by the quick transportation of great ocean liners which could land an army corps on our shores, if undefended by army and navy, in less than ten days after it had left its home port. Nevertheless, while this magnificent isolation does greatly reduce the necessity for elaborate preparation for war, by a large standing army, it does not dispense with the necessity for having "a small but a good army," as Washington once phrased it. Another reason for our failure to make preparation has been our confidence in ourselves and in our power of quickly adapting circumstances to meet any national emergency. So far has that carried some of our public men that they have been deliberately blind to the commonest and most generally accepted military principles, and they have been misled by the general success or good luck which has attended us in most of our wars. They have maintained and properly maintained that the Army of the Union, at the close of the Civil War, was as thoroughly drilled, seasoned, and as brave as any army as ever marched. Were they not volunteers? Were they not the outgrowth of militia, and did they not finally bring peace to this country and

subdue a civil strife of proportions which the world had never before seen? Most of the men who constituted that army were called volunteers and bore the name of the States in which they were enlisted. As it was then, so it will be in the future wars, and the Republic will have at its back millions of freemen who can be depended upon to rise to its defense in case of emergency. If we once raised such an army as we did raise, the flower of which marched down Pennsylvania avenue in the grand review under Grant and Sherman, could we not do it again? In the enthusiasm of these glowing questions and periods, the awful sacrifice of life and money which we had to undergo during the four years in order to train our Civil War veterans, and to produce that army is entirely forgotten, and the country is lulled into the utterly unfounded assurance that a volunteer enlisted today, or a militiaman enrolled tomorrow, can in a week or a month be made an effective soldier. More than this, the fact that in the civil war each side labored under the burden of having to use raw levies at first, while in any foreign war we might have, our troops would have to encounter at once a trained and disciplined force is entirely ignored.

A fourth reason for our failure to prepare in times past has been the cost of our armies whether regular or volunteer. For reasons which lie deep in our national character and which find their beginnings in our descent from our English forbears, compulsory military service, especially in time of peace, is repugnant to our sense of individual independence and civil freedom. Therefore, for the organization of a regular army, we must depend upon volunteer enlistments. It should be noted that the use of the word "volunteer" to make the distinction between our standing or regular army and our temporary army is not happy. The volunteer troops who are called out in time of war are not any more of a volunteer force than are the enlisted men of the regular army. In the proper meaning of the term, all are volunteers. Such being the case, the compensation which is to be paid them must more nearly approximate the wages which are paid for all a man's time in the ordinary walks of life than the small and almost nominal stipend which is allowed to the troops of Germany, France and the other European countries where regu-

lar military service is compulsory and the system of conscription is as much a part of the military system in time of peace as it is in time of war. Our regular army today amounts in effective force to about 60,000 men, and it costs us in round numbers about \$72,000,000 to sustain our military establishment. France maintains an army on the active list of 546,000 men, and it costs her \$133,000,000. Germany maintains an army which has upon its active list 640,000 men, and it costs her \$144,000,000 a year to maintain it. In other words, France has an army about nine times the size of ours which it costs her substantially less than twice the sum to maintain, while Germany has an army more than ten times as large which it costs her just about double our sum to maintain. In addition to this we are carrying a load of pensions for our Civil War veterans, and our Spanish War veterans, amounting to about \$150,000,000. It is entirely natural for the representatives of the people in Congress to hesitate to increase a military establishment so expensive as compared with other nations. The lesson from the pension fund, however instead of being, as it naturally is, a restraint upon expenditure to secure an efficient army, ought, if historically and critically considered, to be a warning against the lack of preparation for the extent of that pension roll is itself the greatest exponent of the fatuity of a policy of insufficient national defense. Still the expenditures of the government, growing as this country is, are pressing to figures so enormous that legislators ought to become solicitous to reduce or restrain them. A desire for economy in government should of course have great weight in all legislation, but the trouble is that like other moving forces in politics it is apt to exert itself along the lines of least resistance, and so the army is first to suffer. The preparation of an army except in time of threatening war, is the preparation for a contingency supposed to be remote. There are no advocates of the army, no strong popular feeling in favor of it. It thus has happened that instead of an intelligent economy, a short sighted parsimony has been too often practiced in respect to it. After the emergency arises, and when it is too late for prudent preparation, then the legislature opens the treasury by appropriations and provisions of the greatest liberality to meet the necessities which only time

and thorough preparation could properly and economically meet.

National life is largely a series of actions and reactions. Soon after the Civil War the consciousness of the burden which the country had to bear, by reason of its enormous cost, led to the reduction of the regular army to the lowest point, and for more than twenty-five years the active army of the Republic was reduced to 25,000 men, a lower percentage of the population than ever in the country's history. No provision was made by Congress for an efficient militia of any kind. The militia law on the statute book had been passed in 1793, had proved to be utterly useless, and yet no attempt was made to improve its character. The Spanish war came on and we went through the same feverish, wasteful hurry to prepare for war which up to that time had preceded all our wars. It was true that the regular army of 25,000 men was probably as well drilled a force as could be found in any country, but its numbers were entirely inadequate to meet the requirements, and so we went through the same old process of getting together large and expensive armies of raw levies which needed many months of training to make them soldiers.

During the period between the Civil and Spanish War a plan for coast defense was recognized by congress as necessary to be carried out, but so slow was the preparation for this that when Mr. Cleveland sent to Congress his Venezuelan Message, accompanied by Mr. Olney's correspondence on the subject of the Monroe Doctrine, and the announcement that we proposed to stand by that doctrine with reference to Venezuela and to insist on arbitration between her and Great Britain, we were prepared to meet a naval attack on our lengthy coast by the use of one modern gun mounted at Sandy Hook. Our defenselessness was then impressed upon the people, and since we have made notable progress in defending our large cities against the probability of successful naval attack.

The construction of a good navy is very much more popular than the organization and maintenance of a small and efficient regular army. The popularity of the navy as compared with the army is doubtless partly due to the fact that a navy has rarely if ever been used to hold down a people or prevent the enforcement of the popular will. An efficient navy is of course necessary to

secure proper respect for the rights of our citizens abroad, and while it is also a most important agency in the national defense, it must not be forgotten, though it frequently does escape the attention of legislators, that a mobile army is as indispensable to our protection as fortifications or a navy. All our coast defenses are for the purpose only of keeping foreign navies out of our harbors and away from our principal centers of population and wealth; but it is entirely impossible to use them to prevent an enemy who reaches our coast from landing an expeditionary force and taking our fortifications in the reverse. There is not a single one of our coast defenses which is adapted to repelling an attack from the land side, and should a large trained army land, as it might do, after a successful naval fight, at any point upon our long coast line outside the harbors of the large cities, we should need a mobile army to meet and drive it off. It must be remembered that of the 60,000 men that we now have in the army, more than 14,000 are in the Coast Artillery, and are absolutely needed to give efficiency to our coast armament. Our mobile army, therefore, constituted of infantry, cavalry, and light artillery, and spread all over the world, numbers less than 45,000 men. I am aware that the possibility of a foreign foe landing on our shores is regarded as very remote, and it is also true that if such an event happened, we could call into requisition the National Guard, now made by law the militia. But we have a long coast line, and it might be difficult for us to fortell or foreknow at what point the foreign army was to be landed in time to bring a sufficient force to meet it. Certainly the force upon which we must depend for quick action will be the regular army, and if that is not promptly effective, immediate disaster will surely follow.

The military policy of the United States has been the subject of discussion by Brevet Major-General Emory Upton, a Colonel of Artillery in our regular army. He devised a new system, which revolutionized our tactics. He was sent round the world with two associate officers upon the recommendation of General Sherman, to study the armies of Europe and Asia, and upon his return made a report in which he gave the results of all his accumulated experience and observation. His history of the

Military Policy of the United States contains the severe criticisms that it is likely to arouse in any trained soldier of wide experience in military affairs and knowledge of military needs and principles. He was not able fully to make allowance for the limitations upon the efficiency of an army as a mere military machine, necessary in this republic because of the conditions inevitable under our political system. But his review of the blunders, the stupidity, and the blindness exhibited, not only in the failure to make proper preparation before the various wars which have come upon the United States, but also in the steps which were taken to meet the emergency after it had come, is by no means soothing or gratifying to one's national vanity and one's pride as an American in the practical foresight of his fellow citizens. General Upton's criticisms may be summarized as directed against the command of undisciplined troops by generals and officers utterly ignorant of the military art, against short enlistments and bounties, and failure to use conscription, against the intrusion of the States in national military affairs, against confusing national volunteers with the militia, against the failure to appreciate the military education and to provide post graduate schools to educate our officers in the strategy and the higher principles of the art of war. He proposed that the military establishment both in time of peace and war should consist of first, the regular army; second, the national volunteers; and third, the militia; that the regular army in time of peace should be organized on the expansive principle, and in proportion to the population not to exceed one thousand in one million: that the national volunteers should be officered and supported by the government, to be also organized on the expansive principle, and to consist in time of peace of one battalion of 200 men to each Congressional district: that the militia should be supported exclusively by the States, and as a last resort to be used only as intended by the Constitution: namely, to execute the laws, suppress insurrections and repel invasions. He recommended the 3-battalion formation in cavalry and infantry regiments; he recommended interchangeable service in staff and line as against promotion to the staff permanently; he recommended examinations as a condition to promotion, and he recommended the establishment of a general

staff, and the general and systematic extension of military education.

It is my purpose this afternoon to consider, not in detail but in general the criticisms of General Upton, and to show what in many respects the lessons, which he drew from our experience in the Civil War and in the earlier wars of the Republic, have not been without their effect upon the legislation with respect to the military establishment in this country, that since the Spanish war a great improvement has been made by legislative and executive action in the preparation for war which ought to be made by a great nation in time of peace, and that legislation which is now pending, if enacted into law, will make still further progress toward the ideal which he has described as a proper military policy for the United States.

General Upton may properly be conceded to be the greatest military writer and critic that this country has produced, and therefore what he has said and what he has recommended may well be taken as a proper standard by which to judge the progress or retrogression in our military establishment. His criticisms are directed against particular features of the system which was adopted during the Civil War, and while those were but repetitions of mistakes which had been made in earlier years, some of his criticisms were applicable only to the particular conditions that prevailed during the Civil War. An enlistment for three years, for instance, would seem to be a proper length of time to cover any war. Modern wars have generally ended in a much shorter time than that, and so would have our Civil War, had we been properly prepared. Three years is now regarded as sufficient enlistment for the Regular Army. General Upton, as I have said, was a professional soldier, and he may not have taken into account as fully as a civil legislator would, the natural political objections that there would be to introducing a system of conscription here at the beginning of a war. The strength of the army of a republic in which, it is to be presumed, the people are fighting their own battles, must be in the enthusiastic and patriotic spirit which animates their soldiery and which leads civilians to become soldiers. It was not necessary in our Civil War to introduce the drafts until two years after the war began. Up to that

time the voluntary enlistment had been sufficient and had the war been finished as promptly as it might have been if the United States had been in a state of readiness, the impetus of the wave of enthusiasm that swept over the people would certainly have supplied troops enough to last during that period. The strength of the defense of a popular government in a war of any length at all must be in the support which its citizens give, and therefore in their willingness to volunteer and become members of the army. The necessity for encouraging this spirit naturally impresses itself on the civil legislator, but is not always given sufficient weight by the professional soldier. It is undoubtedly true that the criticism of General Upton upon a policy which puts raw troops under generals and colonels and other officers utterly ignorant of the art of war, is ruinous. And it is entirely natural that a regular army officer having served his country faithfully and given the best years of his life to the art of war should resent the rapid promotion in actual war of men who with but little preparation have been put in positions of prominent command. But there is this to be said upon that point. While patriotism is doubtless the moving cause of the enlistment of most of the volunteers when war is threatening and the popular heart is throbbing, the prospect of promotion and of military glory and of holding commissions, adds a powerful motive to those which move men to give up their ordinary vocations and expose their lives in defense of their country. Hence it seems to me necessary, not that unfit and unskilled men should be put at the heads of regiments or brigades or divisions, but that there should be an opportunity for volunteer officers from civil life to be appointed first in the lower grades and then to be promoted as their conduct in war may justify, even though this policy may sometimes prefer them to regular officers and professional soldiers. This necessity grows out of the fact that we must furnish needed motive to our citizen soldiery. It is an unavoidable limitation upon the perfect military machine and a somewhat harsh restriction upon the career of many regular officers.

The intrusion of the states into military affairs has been in the past a very serious drag upon the efficiency of our army in war. It was a great mistake in the Spanish War to remit to the Gov-

ernors of the states the opportunity to appoint the officers of volunteer regiments. The volunteer law of 1899 under which 35,000 volunteers were raised for use in the Philippines was a much better law, because in that case the appointments were made by the President, and not by the governors of the states. It is difficult enough to avoid the influence of politics upon the appointments under the federal government, but it is much more likely to involve local politics to entrust the appointments or even the nominations to governors of states. The constitution requires that the officers of the militia shall be appointed by the governors of the states; but in the volunteer force, which is a part of the army of the United States and with respect to which the states are not necessarily to be consulted, no such restriction as that in the Constitution ought to be introduced. It is true that the law of 1898 which is still in force making provision for volunteer regiments under certain circumstances contains the provision that the officers shall be nominated by the governors, and approved by the President, but let us hope that in any future war not the existing law but the model of 1899 will be followed, for the reason that the regiments which were organized under the 1899 enactment were more efficient than those which were organized under that of 1898. In the two years which they served in the Philippines they became soldiers of such metal, that it was difficult to distinguish between the regular soldiery and the volunteer soldiery. The states in previous wars interfered far more than they did in the Spanish War or indeed even in the Civil War, and each year as we have grown into a great nation has lessened the danger from that source. I yield to none in appreciating the valuable services to the country of our great war governors between 1861 and 1865 in keeping up the patriotism of their people and in supplying men, but calm consideration of the facts necessarily leads to the conclusion that the army would have been more efficient if appointments to all volunteer regiments had been made by the President only. The State Sovereignty idea, which, if it had been allowed to prevail, would have made this country a confederation rather than a nation, was largely ended in the Civil War, and we may count that in the future when the organization of an army to meet an emergency is thrust upon Congress that this in-

fluence which has been in the past so pernicious in its results, will not be allowed to prevail.

The confusion of the volunteers with the militia is a danger which I hope may be avoided. The militia are intended to suppress insurrection and repel invasion. They are not part of a mobile army to enforce any international policy or to leave the confines of the United States in expeditionary forces which it may be necessary to organize. The volunteers of the United States would, however, be subject to military service wherever the troops may be lawfully ordered. A bill is now pending in Congress which would supply a trained volunteer force upon short notice and provide a partial reserve for the regular army. It would furnish a force not to exceed 50,000 men who have served not less than one complete enlistment in the regular army, who are citizens of the United States not over forty years of age, of good character and in sound health, to be enlisted for a period of five years unless sooner discharged. They are to be rated in pay according to former service as non-commissioned officers, or qualification as marksmen, and they are to be enlisted and carried on the rolls of the Military Secretary's office, to be allowed to live where they please in the United States but to be subject to call for the extent of ten days in each year for instruction purposes, and upon the outbreak of a foreign war to be called into active service and assigned to regular organizations to fill them to a war strength. The total cost of the maintenance of such a body of men is estimated at about \$2,000,000 per annum. The necessity for such a reserve of trained men was shown at the outbreak of the Spanish War when it was found impossible to secure men for the regular army who had had previous training. The skeletonized regiments of the regular army, filled with raw recruits, were not in condition for active service for a number of months. Such an enactment would render available a trained force doubling the efficiency of the regular army at an expense of only 3 per cent of the present cost of the permanent establishment. With this bill and a bill for the organization of volunteers drafted in accordance with the volunteer act of 1899, I think we could count on the removal of many of General Upton's suggestions in respect to the inefficiency of the volunteer system.

Second, a bill was introduced in 1903 by Hon. Charles Dick, then a member of the House from Ohio, and now a Senator in Congress from that state, "To promote the efficiency of the militia and for other purposes." The provisions for the organization of the militia and its co-operation with the national forces were contained in an act which became a law in 1793. As already said, that law had proved to be utterly useless and the states had retained and organized militia of all sorts and kinds without respect to the government drill or uniform or arms or ammunition. By this act, Congress declares the so-called National Guard organizations to be the organized militia and provides for calling them into the service of the United States whenever required for the constitutional purpose of repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection or executing the laws of the Union. It also contains a series of provisions designed to promote the strength, efficiency and prosperity of these militia organizations; to make them and the regular army a homogeneous force; and to bring about a habit of co-operation and mutual respect and good understanding between the officers of the two forces. It provides that the organization, armament and discipline of the militia shall be the same as that prescribed for the regular army. It authorizes the Secretary of War to issue to the militia, at the expense of the National Government, the same arms, ammunition and supplies as it does to the regular army. It requires regular inspections by officers detailed by the Secretary of War and for regular returns by the adjutants in the several states to the war department, authorizes participation by the organized militia in joint maneuvers with the regular army, and provides that the militia so participating shall receive the same pay, subsistence and transportation as is provided by law for the officers and men of the regular army, to be paid out of the army appropriations. It provides for furnishing aid to separate state encampments of the militia, out of an annual appropriation of \$1,000,000 for militia purposes. It provides for detailing regular officers of the army to attend these militia encampments, and for the examination of persons to be registered as an eligible class for appointment as officers of any future volunteer force. Such persons are authorized to attend any military college or school of the United States except the

Military Academy. The operation of this law has already created a very wide interest among the militia forces of the states, the uniformity of drill, discipline, arms and ammunition has been brought about, and the enthusiasm with which the officers and men of the militia organizations have accepted the benefits and the obligations of this law indicate that it is a wise step forward in making ready for national emergency. The same Senator, General Dick, long an officer of the National Guard himself, has introduced a bill to increase the efficiency of the militia, and to promote rifle practice, by making an annual appropriation of \$2,000,000 for the purpose, to be apportioned among the several states and territories, under the direction of the Secretary of War, according to the number of Senators and Representatives to which each state is entitled, when its active militia shall have at least 100 men for each senator and representative of the state. Should this bill pass it would add greatly to the efficiency of the militia.

In 1901 was enacted the new army bill which gave us the present army organization of 15 regiments of Cavalry, a corps of Artillery, amounting to about 18,000 men, and 30 Regiments of Infantry, together with such Philippine scouts not exceeding 12,000, as the President might feel justified in enlisting in the Philippine Islands. The act provides that the total enlisted force of the line of the army, together with such native force shall not exceed at any one time 100,000. Since the passage of the act the regular army has been reduced so that it now does not exceed, including the Philippine scouts, 65,000, but it is much the most efficient regular army and is organized on much the most efficient plan that we have ever had in this country. The reduction in the total has not been by cutting off regiments, but by reducing the size of the companies. In other words, by making the army more or less of a skeleton of what it will be should occasion arise for its enlargement. By the rapid recruitments of the skeletonized companies of this force so as to increase the total to 100,000, by the organization of a reserve force such as that which has already been referred to, of men who have served regular terms of enlistment, we should have a force with trained troops of 150,000 in a short time, and to this might be added at

least 100,000 and probably 150,000 of the organized militia of the states, armed, equipped and drilled according to the regulations of the regular army. This would be a much more formidable and better trained force than the United States was ever able to put in the field on such short notice before.

It is true that there are many defects in the present regular army as compared with the European armies and as shown by the experience in the Japanese war. For instance, there are needed in order to man the guns of the coast defense batteries with one shift of men some 10,000 more troops. The Coast Artillery and the Field Artillery are now so different in the functions which they perform, and require such different drill that it seems wise to follow the course adopted in European countries and make them different corps. Indeed the experience in the Japanese war shows that the Field Artillery acting with the Cavalry and the infantry should be organized into regiments. It is now merely made up of companies of batteries in a corps of artillery. The Coast Artillery should be so constituted that the men necessary to man the different guns in the different forts should be assignable as squads of different sizes according to the local necessities. A bill has been introduced for the purpose of remedying these defects and of giving to the Coast Artillery upwards of 4,000 more men and of adding a thousand men to the Field Artillery. In this way we shall secure six additional batteries for the Field Artillery, and organize it into regiments, and the Coast Artillery while not wholly adequate to the coast defense will be made much more efficient and much better able to handle the guns which it will be their function to take care of during any attack upon our ports. The Japanese war has shown that Field Artillery to be the most effective should be massed into regiments or even brigades, and the regimental drills of Field Artillery have become an important part of the science of fighting battles. Accordingly, two provisional regiments have already been organized and drilled at Fort Sill and at Fort Riley, and the result has been satisfactory. In the modern method of using artillery the Colonel or other commanding officer occupies a high position usually at considerable distance from the guns where he can observe the position of the enemy, the proper range and the

result of fire and by electrical communication he controls the direction and aim of the guns with great accuracy, although the men engaged in the immediate handling, aiming and firing of the guns are not able to see the mark which they wish to hit. The field guns in proportion to the infantry should be about 3 1-3 guns per thousand. If the regiments of infantry of our regular army were to be increased to their full strength, they would reach 54,000, and this would require according to the ratio stated 180 field artillery guns. The full present strength of our regular Field Artillery is 30 batteries of 4 guns each, or 120 guns. This is a shortage of 60 guns. If the present Artillery Bill passes, there would be added to this 6 batteries of 4 guns each, or 24 guns more, reducing the deficiency to 36. I ought to add that there is a provision in the law which authorizes the furnishing to militia regiments of artillery guns for their practice.

The Cavalry regiments are 15 in number but if increased to their full strength there would be enough for an army of 150,000, for the ordinary proportion of Cavalry to Infantry in a fighting force need not be more than 10 per cent. It would seem wiser for us to increase our Field Artillery and our Coast Artillery because the needed additional troops in these branches of the service, like the cavalry, it would take a much longer time to train than the infantry. In other words, the regular army should be regarded as only a skeleton and those parts which it would take long to organize and train should be much larger in proportion on the peace establishment than they would be in time of war. The infantry, of course, is the most important part of every army, but infantry regiments can be prepared in one year where it takes two and three to prepare cavalry and artillery. I am glad to say that we have now as fine small arms and as efficient coast guns and Field Artillery as there are in the world. We are somewhat backward in field siege guns, but that is due to the shortness of the force of the Ordnance department, which will I hope soon be increased under the provisions of a bill which has already passed the Senate and which it seems likely will pass the House. The uses of infantry are so many by reason of extending our government to the Philippine Islands and to Alaska, that the military commanders of the army are very anxious that

there should be an increase in that branch so as to permit the use of two divisions of infantry, cavalry and artillery in an expeditionary force without taking away all available troops from every part of our domain. But while this is the goal toward which we should aim, the importance of the improvement and increase in the artillery is, it seems to me, more immediate. Plans have been matured for the further improvement of our coast defenses, the completion of which will involve the expenditure of about \$50,000,000 more for the defenses of the United States proper, and \$22,000,000 for the defenses of the Philippines, Panama and Porto Rico. Of course these new defenses will not be built all at once. It suffices to say that we have a definite plan towards which we are working and which we may be hopeful will ultimately be treated by Congress as a proper plan to pursue.

General Upton's criticism with respect to a failure to appreciate military education and the want of post graduate schools to educate our officers in strategy and the higher principles in the art of war, have been met in our present establishment, and full provision made for the best military education possible. I think it is true that there is no general military school covering all the branches necessary for the foundation of a military education in the world more satisfactory and thorough than the Military Academy at West Point. This is now supplemented in the army by garrison schools in which the younger army officers are instructed in the fundamental principles of the art of war and their efficiency is noted. From these schools are selected men to enter the General Service and Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, the School of Application for Cavalry and Field Artillery at Fort Riley, the Artillery School at Fort Monroe, or the Ordnance School at Sandy Hook, and finally, after an exceptional excellence has been shown at any of these schools, candidates are selected for the War College, which exercises general supervision over all the graduate education of the army, and in which the students are made to cooperate and assist the General Staff in the work of working out the military problems for defense and attack by our military forces. It would have gratified General Upton, I am sure, were he living, to see the enthusiasm and the

earnestness with which these opportunities for advanced military education are being seized upon by the younger officers of the army. Upton recommended examination as a condition of promotion. He recommended the three batallion formation for infantry and cavalry; he recommended interchangeable service in staff and line as against the permanent staff departments. These three features have now been adopted into our system.

I do not think that the examination for promotion is as efficient as it should be. Examinations should be the means of eliminating the poor material in order that men who do their duty and are efficient should not be retarded in promotion by those who simply mark time. A different method for reaching the same result has been proposed in a bill already introduced for elimination to which I shall refer later. General Upton recommended the establishment of a General Staff. That has been done, and it has already vindicated those who brought it about. The office of the General Staff is not to command the army. Its office is chiefly advisory. It has to work out the plans of campaign both for defense and attack in accordance with the possibilities of future development. Its function is to advise the President and the Secretary of War and propose plans for improvement of the present military establishment, which may or may not be adopted by the present congress, but toward which we may constantly work in the perfection of our military machine. The General Staff will necessarily give continuity and consistency to the policies of the War Department, and that cannot but exercise the most healthful influence on both the executive and legislative course with respect to the army. In recent years it has been a wise practice for cities anxious to secure extended improvements in their streets and parks and municipal construction to employ a landscape architect to examine the possibilities and to make a plan for the general improvement of the city, to be completed not in two or three years but in half a century, in order that every step that is taken in that city in the direction of municipal improvements shall be taken along logical and practical lines to achieve ultimately the completion of the plan which one artistic and skilled mind has made. So too with respect to the improvement of our military establishment.

One of the great difficulties in the regular army is slow promotion. Officers, able, brave, industrious and efficient eat their hearts out in awaiting promotion to those places of important command for which they show themselves entirely competent, and which they are prevented from attaining because of the slowness with which vacancies are created. Examinations for promotion, as I have already said, ought to have been strict enough to have eliminated many whose presence in the army is not for the benefit of the army, but who are simply kept along because examining boards are too tender and too sympathetic and too fearful of the effect of putting them out upon the world after they have got beyond the point of earning a livelihood in civil life. A bill has been introduced in Congress to improve this condition. It provides that there shall be a certain number of vacancies in each grade for each year, and if vacancies from death, promotion, resignation or dismissal do not equal the number provided in the law, which is expressed in a percentage of the total number of the grade, then it is made the duty of a sworn board of army officers to recommend for immediate retirement in each grade as many officers as are needed to bring the vacancies up to the required statutory percentage. In this way under the bill as it has been worked out, a man will reach a Captaincy when he is thirty-five, his majority when he is forty-five; a lieutenant colonelcy when he is fifty; and his colonelcy before he is fifty-six. The tender hearted feelings of a Board of Examiners can find no opportunity for evading or mitigating the provision of the law which requires them to select the men least worthy to remain. This is a means of eliminating the deadwood and the useless officers from the service.

We have on the whole a very fine body of regular army officers. No man who has had to come in contact with them, to know their high sense of duty, to know their interest in their profession, and the earnestness with which they are pursuing its studies, can have but the greatest respect for them. We have had to supplement the graduates of West Point with a large number appointed from civil life, but the garrison schools and the graduate schools in the various courses have done wonders in fitting the non-graduates of West Point as officers. There are

no better officers, no better men, in any army than we can raise in America. We are a warlike people. Most privates have an independence and a self reliance that fits them to adapt themselves to different situations and there are no braver men. But they must know how to shoot straight, they must know how to move at the word of command, they must understand all the duties of a soldier which grow more complicated with modern guns and modern methods. They cannot know it intuitively. We have no right as a nation to ask our citizens to expose themselves as enlisted men in battle without reducing the chances of disaster and death by proper military education of their officers and proper military training of the men.

One other change that ought to be made in the management of our army was pointed out by President Roosevelt in his last Message. During the Indian wars on the plains it became necessary to have small one-company, two-company, three-company and four-company posts distributed through the territory of the west in which the Indians were likely to make their depredations. The posts were made from strategic motives so as to secure the protection of the settlers most exposed to attack. But this system of small posts, after the reason for their existence had ceased, continued because of the supposed advantage to the people of a Congressional District to have a neighboring army post, and legislation and appropriations were therefore easy to obtain leading to their establishment. The great deficiency among the commanding officers of our army is in their lack of experience in the management of large bodies of troops. The Major-Generals and the Brigadier-Generals under the present system command territorial divisions and departments and are not learning needed lessons in handling and maneuvering troops in large bodies. This can only be attained by the concentration of our troops in a comparatively small number of large posts, so that Brigadiers, instead of commanding brigades, and Major-Generals, instead of commanding territorial divisions shall command tactical divisions. The number of posts in the country which are now smaller than regimental posts are so many as to make this change a matter of slow growth, but under the instructions of the President, and I hope the legislative direction

of Congress, this improvement in the army will go on. The establishment of summer camps and the union for maneuvers of the regular soldiers with the militia will add another means of drilling our general officers in grand strategy and the art of war.

Under the influence of the legislation of the last six years, the army has taken a great step forward. Much of this legislation, nearly all of it, both that which has reorganized the regular army, which has introduced the General Staff, which has increased and made so satisfactory the graduate schools in military science, the increased limit of the regular army to 100,000 men, the establishment of the War College and the many other improvements which attended these main steps were due, as every man connected with the War Department knows, to the great ability, intense interest and sustained effort of Elihu Root, a civilian with no military experience, but who came to the War Office with such capacity as to be able in a short time to familiarize himself with the needs of the army, and with the energy and clear perception to devise legislative plans and to induce congress to adopt them. He was a pioneer in this work, and those things which are left to be done and which are embodied in many of the bills now proposed are but carrying out the work for which he laid the broad foundations. It will take some time, it must take some time for the General Staff system and other innovations introduced under his auspices to reach their normal usefulness, but sufficient already has been shown to vindicate in every way the policy for which he was responsible.

The great danger now to be anticipated and warded against is that under the stress of possible financial deficit, it will be thought necessary in the future to reduce the military establishment, and thus to make futile the steps already taken for its improvement. With the exception of the coast defenses, the proposed improvements will not involve great additional expense. Indeed I do not think it improbable that by rigid economy the additional expense involved in the increases which we ask, may be reduced to a small one. It would greatly aid to make such retrogression improbable if the practical people of this country would only see the necessity for maintaining a small but good army and object to steps backward. With the hope of arousing

some interest in the matter, I have ventured to detain you thus long. I wish I could have clothed this discussion with apt illustration and eloquent periods which would impress upon you the importance that I think it ought to have in the popular mind. I hope we may never have another war. But our experience in the past does not justify such a hope. It is our duty, therefore, if we would be wise in our generation, to make provision for a comparatively small regular army and efficient reserve of volunteers, and an adequate and co-operating force of State militia. In this way we shall follow closely the advice of Washington, given while he was President, in saying:

"The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every nation abounds.

"There is rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness.

"If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it.

"If we desire to secure peace, one of the best powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are, at all times, ready for war."

What the Father of his Country said in 1793, at the end of his first administration, is even truer of the situation of the country today, for we are very much nearer than the country was in his day to other nations of the world, and we have a rank which will certainly be withheld and lost by the reputation of weakness. Readiness for war is quite as effective an instrument to secure peace today as it was more than a century ago.

Twentieth Annual Banquet of the Union League Club of Chicago, in Memoriam of the Birth of George Washington, Thursday, the twenty-second day of February, 1906. The orator of the day, Frederic A. Delano, Chicago.

The subject which your committee of arrangements has set for me ought to make me eloquent if I had any eloquence in me, but, as I heard a man say not very long ago, "One thing about

you railroad men is that while you cannot talk you are good toastmasters because you know the value of terminal facilities."

I would like to tell you something of the history of the distinguished orator of the day, our guest; but after all I probably cannot tell you anything you do not know already.

Beginning with his school days at Cincinnati and his college days at Yale—he was at Yale, you know, and graduated with the class of '76—he was at Yale before the days when football had been put on the college curriculum, and for that reason, perhaps, or for some other reason, he was a student. (laughter.) What might have happened if football had been on the curriculum, especially for an institution of learning with which I have had some interest, I leave to the imagination. The fact is that Bill Taft, as he was known in those days, stood high in his class, somewhere up about the top, say the first or second, and when he graduated he was the valedictorian. After graduating from the college he went back to Cincinnati, read law there, and soon went into public life. He began his public career at twenty-four, and he has been in public service almost continuously ever since. That service speaks for itself, and you know as much as I can tell you of his long and creditable career as a Judge of the Circuit Court and of his distinguished services to the country in the Philippine Islands.

It was my privilege for a few weeks to be connected with one of Secretary Taft's bureaus in Washington. While the work I did was insignificant it gave me an opportunity to see something of Secretary Taft and the immense amount of work he was doing. I have seen a great deal of the busy men in my life, but I never saw a man who was carrying on as much and under such difficult conditions as Secretary Taft has had in Washington. As a little indication on that point, the Secretary of the Club only heard a week ago from Secretary Taft's secretary that he had as yet not prepared his speech for Chicago, because he had been too busy. You can, therefore, judge the immense gratitude that we feel and ought to feel, that this busy man has been willing to drop everything in Washington and come here and address us as he has this morning, this afternoon and this evening.

The Secretary himself told me this morning a story of Horace

Greeley which I thought was rather to the point. He said that Horace Greeley thought that when a man could speak to an audience and fewer of the audience went away than stayed, he had made a great hit; but recently Secretary Taft has had the singular compliment paid to him which you perhaps saw noticed in the newspapers that when he was speaking in Detroit the other night he not only held the audience in Detroit but there was a long distance telephone to Grand Rapids, and a room full of people sat spellbound at his words in Grand Rapids. (Applause.) I have therefore great pleasure in introducing Secretary of War, the Honorable William H. Taft, who will speak to us on the subject of the Panama Canal.

TOASTS

THE ORATOR OF THE DAY

MR. FREDERIC A. DELANO, PRESIDENT OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

RESPONSE

HONORABLE WILLIAM H. TAFT

CHILDHOOD AND CITIZENSHIP

JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY

DEMOCRACY: CYNICISM OR FAITH?

PROFESSOR GEORGE E. VINCENT

HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT

THE PANAMA CANAL.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Union League Club: It is a great pleasure for me to meet a club having such wide usefulness as this. I understand that your purpose is to stir up and keep up patriotic feeling, feeling in public questions on the right side. No purpose could be higher. It is easy enough when we have a war or great national emergency to get up popular interest, rouse patriotic feeling, but that, after all, is not what accomplishes most. It is the patriotic feeling that is a living force, that continues from day to day, from month to month and year to year; that follows closely public questions, and insists that the standard in public life shall become higher and higher. And that, I understand, is what this club is organized for.

It is a great honor to be here as the orator of the day. That term has a rotundity and a solemnity that the man who has no powers of eloquence runs away from, but I defer to the title which you use, and shall masquerade under that for this evening. It is a great honor to be here, and it is a great opportunity, and I would like to explain what that opportunity is. When you have a number of subjects which you regard as important, when some people are disposed to include you in the class of cranks, it is a great opportunity to secure an audience in such a way that they cannot get away, so that their mere pride in the association which they represent holds them to their seats while you can talk to them for an hour and a half on a subject which you are interested in.

Senator Plumb told me that he never had talked to as satisfactory an audience as the one that he found in the Kansas penitentiary, because not a man could get away. And for other rea-

sons this afternoon, when I perpetrated that dreadfully long speech on the Army, for other reasons than those which detain gentlemen in the penitentiary, the audience stayed. It was an opportunity which I enjoyed, and which I shall keep in grateful remembrance.

The President has alluded to the fact—which was a fact—that I began the dictation of that speech, that awful speech that I delivered this afternoon, on Friday night. Well, if I had begun it Friday night three weeks ago it would have been a great deal shorter speech; but the difficulty about beginning late is, as my judicial friends who sit before me know, that it takes a great deal longer time to write a short opinion than it does a long opinion.

This morning I touched on the Philippines; this afternoon on the Army. And this evening I am about to complete my repertoire.

Those of you, and my friend Frank Jones will bear me out, who have had occasion to write official reports will know that if you desire to keep in the tomb, as it were, as far from public knowledge as possible, a fact, or a series of facts, that what you want done, is to put them in an official report. That does not satisfy the vanity and the pride of the men who write them. It is a little like Brother Bacon the Georgia senator, who complained that people did not read the congressional reports and the debates in the senate. Those of us who have to write official reports sympathize with him, and there should be some method of introducing by inoculation or otherwise the valuable facts that we gather and tender to the public and which they reject. The difficulty and the danger in inviting an official to address you is that he will work on you all the old facts that have been in the official reports for three or four years and introduce them to you as something new. And that is what I am going to do tonight.

There have been a great many publications about the Panama canal recently, the advisory report, the majority and the minority. Well, I am going to assume in what I say tonight that they have not been read in such a way that what I say may not strike you as a matter of news, although you may be able to find them in your Chicago newspapers or in some other publication.

I would like to go back a little in the canal business to a little

history, in order to lead up to the facts that have now become important. You remember that there was a very earnest, not to say bitter discussion, over the question whether we should build the canal between the two oceans by Nicaragua or by the San Blas route, or by the Panama route. The Nicaragua route was about 137 miles long, and had a lake which was 110 feet high. The lake had to be dredged out and there was great difficulty in reaching that height by reason of the river which stood in the way. The San Blas route was the shortest route on the isthmus. It is thirty miles from shore to shore. But the difficulty about that route is that there is a mountain 1,800 feet high between the shores and in order to complete a route a tunnel some five miles long would have to be constructed through the mountain.

It is said by those who favor that route that the mountain is granite, and therefore it might be easy to tunnel it with a tunnel 200 feet wide and 150 or 180 feet high, but the probability is, from the formation in the neighborhood, that the mountain is of volcanic origin, and that the material is such that in such a tunnel there would have to be a roofing, and up to this time the engineers have not satisfied themselves that that would be practicable. So the Panama route is about 45 miles from shore line to shore line, about 50 miles in round numbers from the point where the dredging will cease in the harbor on the one side, to the point where it will cease on the other.

The Panama route of course has the advantage of a railroad, an instrumentality absolutely necessary in the construction of a canal which runs from one end of it to the other. You remember that the Spooner act was passed in 1902. That act provided that the President should secure the right of way for the construction of a canal over the Panama route; that he should buy, if he could, the interest of the new French Panama Canal Company in that route, but that if he was unable to make the negotiations with the United States of Colombia, then that he should proceed to construct a canal by means of the Nicaraguan route. You all remember the result of the negotiations with the Colombian government; the Hay-Herran treaty, and the failure of the Senate of Colombia to ratify it, and then what subsequently followed, the revolution in Panama, and the Panama treaty in December, 1903.

I only mention these facts to explain the delays from the time we began, and if possible to relieve the administration from the charge that there has been dillydallying with reference to the construction of the canal under the Spooner act. Certainly my democratic friend, Brother Jones, will not charge us with any too great delay in the matter of closing the treaty with Panama or recognizing that government after the revolution. (Laughter.)

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty a commission was appointed. That commission selected its officers, its chief engineer, its chief sanitary officer, and the governor of the canal zone. The treaty, you may remember, gave us a zone some ten miles wide from the axis of the canal. That left it a little indefinite as to where the boundary was, because, as we had not determined where the canal was to be, therefore had not determined where the axis was, it was somewhat difficult by survey to fix the exact boundary of our jurisdiction. It also provided that from that canal zone should be excluded the cities of Colon and Panama. As in several hundred years in which Panama had been in existence nobody had ever passed any law or issued any order or issued any map delimiting what the boundaries of Colon and Panama were. When we went down there to take possession of the zone it became a little difficult for us to determine just where our jurisdiction was. So we made some executive arrangements with the people of Panama to make those delimiting boundaries. They had sent us down there to live in another man's house, in the midst of another people, and we thought we had the right at least to make arrangements so that we should not be stepping on each other's toes; but there is some query as to whether we did not infringe upon the rights of the senate in exercising treaty-making powers. I think, however, it is now pretty generally conceded that that kind of a temporary arrangement by which one may withdraw at any time does not infringe on anybody's powers, but is essentially an incident to the power conferred upon the executive to do what we were directed to do there, namely, to go there and build the canal and take possession of the canal zone, and that is what we have done.

Now I beg you to consider what the problem was that we had before us. There was here 46 or 47 miles of a strip for practical

purposes half a mile wide, through which a railroad ran but which had been allowed to grow up again in the jungle and the verdure of the tropics. The 2,100 houses that the French had erected had all become dilapidated and impossible of occupation without repair. The railroad itself was utterly inadequate to carry the additional freight that would have to be carried in order that we might put our plant along the way. It was absolutely necessary that we should have a double track in order that one track might be used to carry out the spoil, that which was excavated, and the other used to carry on the charter duty of the railroad to act as a common carrier.

And above all, we are to introduce there—we have now introduced there, 22,000 laborers and shall probably increase it to 30,000. Now that involves not only the presence of 30,000 laborers but also at least one and perhaps more persons in addition to them, their families—for we like to bring their families. So we are about to introduce into that zone some 60,000 persons. Colon has upwards of 4,000 people in it and Panama 20,000. We are going to nearly triple the population that is there today. In order that we may do this the first and indispensable condition is that we make that zone healthful: that we prepare a place in which those people shall live, and shall live with health, because if we have an epidemic of yellow fever, if we have a pernicious malaria, if we have the smallpox, or any of those diseases to which the tropics are so liable, then our work is delayed and the cost of the canal is greatly increased.

I should like, if you will pardon me for a moment, to step into the realm of the medical profession and say a word or two about how the sanitary conditions have been and are being met. We discovered in Havana, through a man who gave his life up to science and to the world, that the yellow fever was communicated to the human body by a mosquito—the stagoymaie mosquito. This mosquito has a peculiarity—for his habits have been studied with great assiduity. He lives about old houses. He does not seem to like the open very well. He is generated in receptacles, with water that stands without a cover, or in the cellars of houses, or in the dark corners in the little pools that gather on the floor. It is the female mosquito that communicates the yellow fever,

and she is only effective during her period of gestation. She lives about ninety days. Now, the idea is first to kill her—and him too, for he has some responsibility with reference to the matter—by fumigation with sulphur of the houses where they are. Then if a man be infected the plan is to isolate him in such a way that he cannot communicate it to the mosquitos, so that every time there is a suspect he is taken at once to the hospital and put under a woven wire netting and there kept with an orderly to see that no mosquitos can get at him at all. If he has powers of resistance, if he is an American, the proportion of deaths is not so great—not more than about twenty-five per cent I think. Of course that is large, but it is not nearly equal to the percentage of deaths from plague among the Oriental people, which reaches as high as ninety-four or ninety-five per cent.—and indeed cholera is more fatal, too. Now we have pursued this policy of fumigating all over the isthmus and we have finally driven the yellow fever out.

We had in Panama on the 11th day of November the last yellow fever case. We had in Colon the last yellow fever case on the 11th of December, and we have had none since, and Colonel Gorgas considers that the disease is stamped out. The number of deaths from yellow fever has not been very great considering the number of people who have been on the isthmus. But the danger to the project is that the presence of yellow fever at all will keep away others who are valuable to us. That is, it may produce a panic that will destroy the effectiveness of those who stay.

Now there is another mosquito, the malarial mosquito, that is born in stagnant pools that lie along the railway track and the line of the canal. About seventy per cent. of all the inhabitants of the isthmus are shown by actual examination—they do not examine all the people who live there, but they take 100 people at random, and the examination of a number of hundreds of people in that way has shown that about seventy per cent., and even higher, seventy-five per cent., have the malarial germ. Now that presents a very large and a more difficult problem than the yellow fever problem, to prevent the conveyance of malaria by mosquitos from one human being to another, because the mosquito has no difficulty in finding the source of the disease when there are so

many who have it. Of course, they are not ill, but they have it in their system; it affects them. I have no doubt it very much reduces their vitality and reduces their power to labor. Nevertheless the sanitary department has tackled that question and they have spread petroleum all over the isthmus, and they have dug trenches and drained every pool and every swamp that was possible. They have 4,000 men working all the time. There are other mosquitos which convey other diseases down there, but they are comparatively unimportant and I shall not stop to mention them.

In addition to looking after the mosquito question, the water supply was one that was exceedingly troublesome. In Panama, a town 250 years old, they had no water supply of any sort during the dry season. They gathered up their water from pools; they had cisterns and barrels of all sorts and means to get the most unhealthy water possible. So the commission arranged to construct a water supply by a pipe 12 miles from a reservoir along the railway track down to Panama, and today this water is being distributed through all the houses in Panama, and for the first time in its history they have had water the year round. That same thing has to be done with respect to the 16 towns that lie between Panama and Colon; and the same thing is now being done in Colon.

We had to pave the streets in Panama in order to secure proper conditions of healthfulness. We have a gang going about collecting all sorts of garbage. We have put into Panama a sewage system, and we have put that system in other towns along the way. In Colon the sewage question is very difficult—more difficult than in Panama because Panama is about 15 or 16 feet above the sea, and the tide rises 20 feet so that it carries off the refuse from the sewer. But in Colon there is a swamp behind the city. The city is on an island only about 7 or 8 inches above the sea—in some places 15 inches, and in order to sewer the houses there will have to be a pumping station. The swamp will ultimately have to be filled from the Culebra cut. I have mentioned the 2,200 houses that have to be repaired. We have to construct a good many, and a number of large hotels in order to furnish places for the American employes to live in, and in order to get the houses

ready for those people we have had to import millions of feet of lumber. Thirty-two millions of feet was at one time the amount, and that has doubtless been increased. We have to bring down a great many million dollars worth of plant. We have about seventy or seventy-five steam shovels. Then we have to re-equip the railroad. There will have to be many miles of spur tracks, which are being laid now, about 250 miles of track, running away from the prism of the canal at different levels so that what is dug out may run down hill all the way to where it is to be deposited.

"All these things I have cited in order to emphasize the proposition that this work, so immense in its character, cannot be begun hastily, and we cannot step into it and begin to make the dirt fly at once. The truth is, as Mr. Hill, of the Great Northern, said to me: "Your difficulty is not in making the dirt fly soon enough, but the difficulty is that the pressure behind you will make you attempt to make the dirt fly too soon." This great enterprise must be planned out with a great deal of care in advance. Said he: "I was two years making my plans before I put a spade into the ground for the construction of the Great Northern Road."

Now, as Mr. Stevens explained to the Committee on Appropriations, in working these 100 steam shovels in the Culebra cut, which is the great work of excavation that we have to do, he said it would probably take a year or a year and a half after he had begun the work to get in the full number that could be worked in that cut, and toward the end of the work he would have to work them out gradually so that their number would be reduced. I had not mentioned the Culebra cut, but you are doubtless familiar that it was 273 feet high, the lowest point, I think, between the Atlantic and the Pacific ocean, except the Nicaraguan Lake, between the Straits of Magellan and the Arctic ocean; the French had cut that down about 133 feet, and if we were to go to a sea-level canal, we should have to cut it about 180 feet further, but the remaining part to be cut involved the cutting back of the slopes so that there was an enormous amount of earth to be removed, something like 250 million cubic yards, I think.

As I have said, in all this work of preparation we have 2,000 men on the railroads, 4,000 men in the health department and about 15,000 or 16,000 men in the engineering and construction

department, and they are going ahead all the time with this work of preparation. It sometimes is rather difficult to restrain one's self when gentlemen ask: "Well, when are you going to begin to dig? We want you to dig." But what I am trying to impress on you is that you ought to be sure that we won't dig too quickly; that we know what we are to do before we do it. Now Mr. Stevens tells me that after the type of canal is settled it will probably take a year to prepare the complete plans and specifications for the work which is to be done after it is settled how it is to be done.

There is a question with reference to how it shall be done, whether by contract or by the government. Every one of us is anxious to have it done by contract because we want the benefit of the close attention of the man with the private interest in it to see that the work is done speedily in order that he may make his profit. (applause.) But we want to do the work in an economical way and we don't want to begin with contracts until the contractors know how the work can be done economically. We have a government plant down there, because the government has money to spend in a plant. If we were now to invite bids on the work to be done the bids would be at a price which would be greatly beyond what the government itself can do it for. We did invite bids for the dredging of a harbor at Cristobal, a town next to Colon, and at the end of the canal, and the bids were so high, for the reason that the contractors did not know the conditions, that they were all rejected.

As Mr. Stevens said to me, as we were standing on the La Boca walk one day, "This matter of contract is not fully understood. I am doing excavation in this La Boca harbor at about ten cents a cubic yard; I have been a contractor and I have been an engineer and I know what would happen if we were now to invite bids upon that work. No contractor would be wise, no contractor would be prudent who would come here and bid less than 14, 15 or 16 cents a cubic yard." And the reason is that because conditions are so unsettled here, because the question of labor is so undetermined, because the chances with respect to working in the tropics, the action of the elements are so extreme there and things are so likely to happen that are unexpected, that no con-

tractor goes into the tropics under such conditions without introducing into his bid a large element for contingencies.

The government has its plant there and the government is in just exactly the same situation with respect to doing work now that it is in with respect to insuring its buildings. It has so many that it doesn't have to insure any, and so it gets off much more cheaply than if it had to insure all. On the other hand the contractor who goes there and invests his capital has to be sure in the price he is getting that he includes the element of insurance against these contingencies. And until the government by its own work can establish the settled conditions so that the contractors may know, it seems to me it would be quite unwise for the government to attempt to build all this work by contract; but when after one, two or three years the conditions are settled and the data are available to the contractor upon which this work can be done, it will be time to let contracts, and then certainly those who are responsible will let all the contracts possible and at the lowest price.

Now there are two plans recommended. One plan is the sea level canal. It is proposed to make that canal—about 20 miles of it, a width of 200 feet; about 20 miles of it a width of 150 feet; 3 miles 300 feet, one mile 350, and 5 miles 500 feet, making in all the 50 miles. In order to prevent the current that would obstruct navigation on the Panama side, the majority of the advisory board have recommended a tidal lock. The tide rises on that side—has a range of twenty feet, while at Colon it only has a range of two feet—and when the tide is at the extreme either low or high, during the day, the current one way or the other would be such that the great steamers that come in would be endangered so that it is necessary for probably half the time to keep the gates closed. There is about 19 miles of curves, and about 20 or 21 miles of straight sea-level canal.

The minority report is in favor of the high level canal, so-called. That may be described as beginning at Mindi, the mouth of the river on the Colon side, and running for four miles with a width of 500 feet and 41 or 42 feet deep to Gatun, there the construction of a dam 135 feet high, 7,700 feet long, half a mile thick at sea level, 374 feet at the level of the water—which is 50

feet below the top of the bank or the dam—and 100 feet across the top. That is a very large dam, and will be when erected doubtless, the heaviest and largest ever erected, although there is a dam now in California 120 feet high, and there is a dam at Wauchusett, for the Boston Waterworks, which I think exceeds this in length. Of course the 7,700 feet of the dam does not include all that size. There is about 3,000 feet of the dam from one hill to another, which is of the size I have described, but as the ground gradually rises the dam grows less in extent.

I omitted one very important part of the majority recommendation, which was the taking care of the Chagres river by the construction of a dam at Gamboa, near the center of the isthmus; a dam which would be 180 feet high, and which would flush the water back, making a lake beyond from which water power could be drawn, and which would take in a large part of the heavy floods which come into the Chagres river; and that is to be relieved, according to the plan of the majority, by sluices from the lake when the flood grows higher. Then the rivers that empty into the Chagres river below the Gamboa dam toward Colon are some of them to be allowed to come into the canal, but the larger ones are to have dams constructed at their mouths, or further back from their mouths in such a way as to turn the water over the height of land and send it down on the other side and out of the valley in which the canal would be constructed.

Now the minority proposition is that this immense dam at Gatun, forming a lake which will be at that 85 foot level 30 miles long, running through the Culebra cut and narrowing at the Culebra cut, it is large enough to take care of the Chagres river. It is so large a lake that no matter what floods the Chagres has, it will not interfere with the security of the canal. This lake offers for 15 or 16 miles a channel of a thousand feet, which gradually reduces itself until it gets near the Culebra cut, and then for a short distance, some five miles, the canal will only be 200 feet wide; then it widens out at Pedro Miguel where there is another dam on the other side, to about 300 feet. In the Gatun dam there are to be three flights of locks duplicated, reaching the level of the water at 85 feet; that is on the north Colon side. The big dam then on the other side at Pedro Miguel is to be one

lock of 31 feet, and that lets the vessel down into another lake which is to be formed by a dam between the hills that are immediately on the edge of the Pacific Ocean; and that furnishes some four or five miles additional lake navigation with wide channels to a depth of 45 feet. Then on one of the hills immediately overlooking Panama Bay, or the Pacific Ocean, are the two locks which are to let the vessels down into the bay.

There is an objection, of course, to the high level canal in the comparative ease with which the locks might be destroyed by dynamite by any evilly disposed person. Of course the sea level canal has a lock which might be interfered with in that way, and there are places where obstructions could be blown into the canal at sea level, but nevertheless it must be admitted that the argument on that point is in favor of the sea level canal. Of course in guarding the canal one could gather about the locks a very close watch,—there being three places at which that watch would have to be maintained. The rest of the navigation, being in broad channels, could hardly be interfered with in any way.

The high level canal will cost, according to the estimate of the majority about \$240,000,000. The minority think it will cost a good deal more. The majority think that it can be constructed in twelve to fourteen years; the minority think it will take from fifteen to twenty years. The sea level canal, it is thought, will cost about \$135,000,000 to \$140,000,000 and will take about eight and a half years for its construction.

There is a point of weakness in the minority plan in having the locks on the Pacific side immediately on the ocean, because a foreign fleet might easily plant a shell at the distance of three or four miles immediately in these locks and blow them up. The engineers of the war department have suggested that the lock could probably be arranged—although it is not in the plans now—so as to be constructed behind a hill, with the hill in front to protect it against foreign attack of that sort. If not, then it would seem to me that it would be wiser to construct a broad channel—not have a little lock on the Pacific side, but construct a broad channel—for there dredging is easy, except with reference to some rock at one point—to dredge a channel 500 feet wide and

construct a dam at Miraflores about three miles away, behind a hill, where the locks could not be reached by hostile fleets.

The President has recommended, the Isthmian Canal Commission has recommended, and the Chief Engineer has recommended the adoption of the minority report. The President has submitted it to Congress and will abide, of course, the direction of Congress in regard to it. As the President states it, a sea level canal will be a canal somewhat dangerous to navigation because of the narrowness of the channel, because of the curves in the channel; while a high level canal will probably afford to large steamers a quicker passage because of the lake character of the navigation—a quicker passage, even with the locks, than will a sea level canal without the locks.

Of course, no one can tell what Congress will do (laughter)—I did not mean to say that it was like the verdict of a jury, but what I mean is that it is submitted to Congress, and as the President and the Isthmian Canal Commission have differed from the majority of the Advisory Board, so too may Congress differ from the recommendation of the Executive and his agents, the Isthmian Canal Commission. Certain it is, however, that in a very short time the type of the canal will be settled, and certain it is that if the intentions of the administration are carried out—and Mr. Roosevelt is usually in the habit of carrying out his intentions—the canal will be built, at least so far as three years' time will enable him to exercise his strenuous nature upon a work in which he has such an intense interest. I thank you, gentlemen.

(Applause and cheers.)

In introducing Judge Ben. B. Lindsey as the next speaker, President Delano said:

“Gentlemen, the next speaker on the program hardly needs an introduction to a Chicago audience. He has spoken in Chicago a number of times, and I dare say many of you heard his charming and very interesting address this morning to the school children. I have great pleasure in introducing to you Judge Ben. B. Lindsey of Colorado.”

JUDGE BEN. B. LINDSEY, COLORADO

(EVENING SPEECH) CHILDHOOD AND CITIZENSHIP.

It is an honor to any man to plead the cause of childhood, and I wish to speak to you to-night from the standpoint of the child and from knowledge and information imparted to me by the boys and girls of many cities. And I want to say at the outset, that it is a credit to the citizenship of this great state to know that however important may be your great business enterprises and those great problems that concern your material welfare you have not neglected the more important question of the Home and the Child.

Of course, the home, the school, the church, the social settlements, the public play-grounds and such civic agencies are the true sources for the formation of character in the development of citizenship, but when the boy goes wrong in the cities of this country, it becomes the duty of the state to correct him, and the state has no right to even assume to perform this function unless it is prepared to protect the child by the wisest laws and the best system in the power of the state to devise. I have a great amount of charity for the erring children of our cities, and whatever may be their faults, it is as a rule no reflection upon the child, but rather upon men and women, and often upon business men and public officials who are responsible for the child life of the community.

I want to say that purely in the interests of the child, I believe in a certain amount of hardship in their lives, and that they should be taught to overcome difficulties in childhood if you expect them to overcome difficulties in manhood, and there is no true manhood without the power to endure and overcome. But it is not so much the question of difficulties, as the kind of diffi-

culties, and I want to say that the pressure of the load that is upon the burdened little backs of hundreds of children in this country, is more than you have any right to ask them to bear. It is said there was a time in England when the factory inspector saw nothing to recommend in the Child Labor question except a certain kind of artificial stays which would keep their little limbs straight when they were becoming bent under the burdens they had to bear. Because England failed to awaken to their cry "get off my neck—get off my back," the whole nation suffered for it in the end. And just so far as this nation in the present neglects its children in failing to provide the best laws for their protection, just so far must the nation suffer for it in the to-morrow. Whatever the Republic is going to be in the future depends almost entirely upon how well these children are cared for in the present.

Your public schools are painfully and slowly coming around to realize the absurdity of their effort to crowd every child into the same mould, whether he fits it or not. The schools are compelled to acknowledge the useless images turned out that might have been useful citizens instead of useless, had their education more directly equipped them for usefulness and efficiency. I say it is a disgrace to our school system that a boy must commit a crime before he has a chance to learn a trade. Trades are taught in all industrial or so-called reform schools. We have dealt too much on the basis of the thing the boy did rather than with the boy himself. We distinguish a boy from others too much because of the thing he did, as though a certain kind of education is good for him because of the thing he did and not because he is a boy to be made a useful citizen, regardless of what he did, and so I say that what is good for one boy is often good for others, whether they did the same thing or not. If a certain kind of education—as work with the hands in an industrial school—helps prevent a recurrence of an act called criminal, why not supply the same kind of education before the commission of the act? A few changes in our public school system can do more to make our children useful citizens and reduce their number who enter the useless classes than all the courts on earth.

The public school is our greatest and best institution, and no

man will defend it sooner than I will, but my love for it is not going to deter me from pointing out where it can be strengthened in its glorious work of making the citizenship of to-morrow. I believe that just to the extent that we fail to provide the best method of education for the children, to what extent are we criminals? We cannot have too high a conception of our duty to the child. Any system is more or less responsible for criminals, when it compels a teacher to care for more than twenty-five children. I believe there is no greater neglect to the children of the nation than that injustice involved in the expenditure of a larger proportion of our educational funds upon high schools and universities in which there are not to exceed ten per cent of the children of the nation, the great majority of whom are able to provide for their own education. This is being done at the expense and neglect of the struggling ninety per cent, most of whom are unable to provide for their education, and thousands of whom are the victims of bad homes and misfortune. We must specialize more for the needy masses by providing more teachers at better pay, whose work shall deal more with girls and boys than things and subjects, whose methods deal more with inculcating filial piety, courtesy, obedience, respect for law and authority, responsibility for and love for each other, unselfishness and kindly living. The nation needs manhood more and money less every day we live.

Now, my friends, the boys of this nation know more about us men and women than you would be willing to believe, unless you have been companionable and chummy with childhood. The most powerful thing in the life of a child is a good example. It counts more than precept.

Through the kindness of my friend, Judge Mack, I once heard a case in the Juvenile Court in Chicago. A fifteen-year-old boy was charged with stealing several hundred dollars' worth of jewelry. The accusing business man said, "You ought to send that boy to the penitentiary. He is the sixth fellow in six months who has robbed me in the same way." I got the heart and confidence of the boy, after considerable time in making his acquaintance. He told me he was going to evil resorts in that city. He rather justified it, because he said most all the boys he knew

were going to the same places, and when I asked him if the police didn't object he glibly replied, "that the keepers of these dens of iniquity stood in with the cops," and so this vile conduct of his life became to him legitimate, largely because it was winked at and tolerated by public officials. The boy vigorously resented the charge that the property was worth the sum claimed. "Why," said the boy, expressing a rather peculiar idea of a supposedly prominent business man, "I will tell you, Judge, that old guy has got burglar insurance, and he thinks he is going to collect more than he is entitled to. He says those watch cases cost \$20 each. They have 14k. stamped on the inside, and 22 j.m. stamped in the works, and there are a lot of suckers down in the country, who think that means 14 karat gold, when it is nothing but plated brass, and the 22 j.m. doesn't mean anything of the kind. It is fake jewelry; that is what it is; and he makes money out of it. I hadn't been there a month before I heard some of the fellows talking about how much easy money there was in it." "Well," I said, "My boy, that is no justification for your stealing." "But," said the boy, pleadingly, as though to find some justification for his own conduct from the example of the business man, who had prated to me in the presence of the boy of his great business, and how honest he was when he was a boy, "if he can make money in this way, why can't I make money?"

The bad example certain so-called business men set the boy of to-day through unfair and dishonest business methods, the bad example set by the public officials and the men in high places, who seek to succeed by the devious and dark ways of graft and fraud, making millions at the sacrifice of manhood, is doing more than we know to make for crime and evil in the lives of the children and youth of this nation.

The man who succeeds through honest methods, who shirks no danger, and who wins an honorable success in business or political life, is doing more to prevent crime, and is doing more for the citizenship of tomorrow, than courts can possibly do.

A great merchant, a princely man, who despised the ways of trickery and fraud, who sought no success but honorable success, who grew up from a poor boy, through struggles, hardship, privations, and from the bitter toil of all these established a great

business and even piled up millions—those millions always doing good in the busy activities of your great city life, employing hundreds of men, women and children in honorable occupation, your great merchant prince—Marshall Field—has left his indelible impress upon the nation, in the very example he left, in the work he wrought, teaching alike every American boy that he can be honorable and successful in business, teaching him to scorn all unworthy things and to look to the methods of manhood, as the best method after all to pile up character or wealth, and indeed to win and merit both.

And in political life, the example of honorable success gained by the same lofty means, exemplified in the public service of Theodore Roosevelt, Joseph W. Folk, your own Governor Deneen, and others of their type, are all powerful factors in the life of the nation in securing from childhood and manhood that obedience, respect for law and devotion to high ideals that is so necessary in the making of the citizenship that shall make this nation worthy of its founders. The making of manhood means the making of true citizenship.

I am not here to rail against wealth, which is a good thing in its place, and a very important thing, but rather to sound a note of warning against the evils of wealth to the childhood of the nation. Too many of our boys are being inoculated with its poison. Only God knows how many are being debauched by luxury and ease, merely because they were unfortunate enough to be born in the lap of wealth. Under the green bay tree effects of selfishness generated by the misuse of money, thousands are becoming calloused and indifferent to the welfare of their brothers. How much is a man worth, and how much can he make, has been too much a question of prime importance. We want to reverse this into the inquiry: how much has he done for others, for his city, his state and his brothers in the world? A young man once said to me—a young man called upon to serve his state—"I am going to hook up with the corporations; I am going to get in the State Legislature; and they can call me a 'tool,' if they want to, but I notice that the fellows that succeed nowadays are those who are close to the throne, and I am going to be sharp enough to keep out of trouble, but I am going to make money,

and when I get my million, I can endow some institution that will do more good than any of these fellows fussing and fuming around, can do in a life-time, trying to help others up."

Too many young men emerging from the childhood of the nation, are getting perverted notions of real usefulness from examples of the wrong kind.

My friends, there is no cause dearer to me than this cause of childhood and its relation to citizenship. One of the brightest boys in the public schools, whom I ever knew, was one of the smoothest forgers who ever came to the children's court. He had intelligence, but it made him a more accomplished thief. The best education for the citizenship of tomorrow is the education of the human heart. Children need formation, not reformation, and formation must come from the heart. Mere intelligence does not necessarily mean good citizenship. It may be the means of the most dangerous kind of citizenship. This we have learned to our sorrow from certain recent disclosures showing up the records of some of our most intelligent business men. The Master has said of him who would do an injury to one of these little ones that it were better that a mill stone be hanged about his neck and he be cast into the sea. It must be remembered that no citizen is entirely without responsibility to childhood. His every word and act leaves its good or evil impress in the world, and let us be careful that we do no injury to one of these little ones, or the mill-stone may be hanged about your neck and mine as well as that of him who offends. It is becoming more the duty of the church and school, especially the school, to form the character of the little child. Unfortunately this is encouraging many cowardly parents to become miserable shirks, to push the entire burden on the school. Such parents are a menace to citizenship, and therefore enemies of the Republic. Of course, there are parents, especially poor mothers, who through misfortune, are forced to assume the double burden of home-maker and bread-winner, who are entitled to our warmest charity and consideration. The school owes to such a mother and such a home a great duty indeed. The time will come when we may well consider seriously the duty of the State to pension the mothers who are forced by hard fortune to assume this double burden when too

often she fails at both, compelling the state to either care for her children as children or for men as criminals. Often the best fathers and mothers sometimes shudder at the tremendous responsibility of rearing their own children. They know the skill, the patience, the tact, the sympathy and firmness required to shape and form the most delicate instrument in the world. Dr. Hillis has well said, that skill in handling marble was as nothing compared to skill in handling men. May I add that the best time to handle a man, the best time to love a man is when he is a boy. I grant you that justice must be meted out. And while, as some one has said, love without justice may be sentiment in weakness, there is certainly no justice without love.

Every child has the divine right to be born well and reared well. They are entitled to sympathy, patience, kindness and trust. They are entitled to respect if we are to be respected in return. They love to please, and true obedience should come not because you are boss or autocrat, but because love and affection has earned for you the respect of the child, who should obey you not because he is afraid of you, but because he respects you and because he loves you.

For the juvenile offender a system of true probation must be devised through work with the home, the teacher in the school and the citizen who employs juvenile labor. An opportunity must be given to overcome evil with good. There must be offered by the state an opportunity to be loyal, to please, to be encouraged, to be praised for the good the boy does. But he can't do it unless you give him the chance. It is more important that the judge or teacher should have a chance to praise a boy than the chance to condemn him. There must be neither brutality nor leniency. We must strive for a system of efficiency which includes an educational scheme of character building. We are trying this out in Denver with splendid results. This is the reason we can trust boys to go to the prison or reformatory alone when they are too weak to redeem themselves.

There are many trivial cases brought to the children's courts, but the serious cases, those who are bent on criminal careers, generally come from the home that has no father, because the father is either dead, deserted, drunk, or in hundreds of instances,

often worse for the child, he is so busy making money, that his business is more important than his boy. And if I were to write an indictment against those who are responsible for the causes undermining the citizenship of tomorrow, I would charge a large part of the fathers of this nation with being traitors to childhood. A man's best and most patriotic duty to his country, to his flag, is his duty to his home and his children.

In Colorado we have a law which makes every father and mother legally responsible for the moral welfare of the child, and I have sentenced fathers to jail for neglecting their duty to their children. I think the most contemptible creature in the world is the father who deserts his child and wife, but next to him comes the father who considers his duty ended when he has accorded to the life of the little child mere physical support, but who brings with it no companionship, no interest, in a word, no thought of his magnificent responsibility for the character and citizenship of the one whom God has placed in his hands and keeping. I believe in sending such fathers to jail.

In this way the state is fulfilling its duty to the child in improving its environment, increasing its opportunity for good, taking away its opportunity for evil, and compelling men and women as far as law will permit, to set a good example in all their dealings with sacred childhood.

The State must have power, as in Colorado, to regulate the careless parent, and yet with all our laws, it will be difficult at best to enforce parental responsibility in those cases where there is no responsibility. And while we recognize these difficulties, much good may be accomplished by wise laws wisely enforced. Education of the right kind especially for the youth of to-day, as to the responsibility and duties of parenthood and citizenship is the most promising remedy. The four thousand people, mostly young people, whom I have divorced, furnishes one of the saddest facts for contemplation, one of the most serious problems for solution. It involves the purity and permanency of the American home. Stringent divorce laws may help, but that will not solve the real question. Solution must come, if it comes at all, through more moral education, through changes in the hearts of men, through an aroused conscience and an enlightened pub-

lic spirit as to our duties as men and women and our responsibility for every child in the nation now or to be begotten hereafter.

The State has neglected the citizenship of tomorrow in making no effort whatever to curb the vicious and depraved in adding to society an offspring that only degrades it, the responsibility for which they have no thought or care. If the State has a right to regulate the parent even to depriving the parent of the custody of the child in order that it may be reared right, and in doing so, is filling its institutions to overflowing with the neglected children of this country, I ask you why it is not high time that the State was resorting to measures however desperate or severe, to prevent the vicious from adding these burdens to society?

And finally, if we are to expect in the to-morrow the full measure of citizenship from the childhood of to-day, let the home, the school, the church and the state do their full duty towards the child. Let us educate every child right. Let us hold parenthood to its solemn responsibility. Let us give to the homeless child a home and to the friendless child a friend. Let us help every unfortunate child to rise. Let us teach them to do right because it is right, and let us redeem those who have forfeited their claims to our favor to be useful citizens rather than useless criminals. Let us keep up the fight for the home and the God-given right, duties and responsibilities of the parent in the home, remembering that while schools and churches and courts can do much, they cannot supply the deficiency of hopeless homes, for there in the bosom of the American home is the little child, and there also is the state; for the child is the state, and the state is the child. Preserve the child and indeed you shall preserve the state, for the citizenship of tomorrow *will* take care of itself.

Toastmaster Delano, in introducing Professor George E. Vincent, said:

With the modesty which is characteristic of a Chicagoan I hesitate to say some of the things which I really think of the next speaker. Professor Vincent is very well known to you all. He

has spoken at this board and at other places. He is one of our shining lights, and of all the stars that we have had this evening he is certainly not the least; but unlike the fixed stars—you know the stars differ both in magnitude and in the speed of their movement—Dr. Vincent is not a fixed star, and after he has flashed across the horizon I imagine that some of you will be like the two men who were standing on the platform of a country station, when the fast mail went by one said, “It is coming,” and the other said, “It has gone.”

I take great pleasure in introducing to you Professor George E. Vincent of Chicago University.

PROF. GEORGE E. VINCENT

DEMOCRACY: CYNICISM OR FAITH.

Mr. Chairman and complacent fellow patriots:

We have dined well; we have listened to the inspiring words of that Olympian who combines the functions of Cupid and of Mars; who as Neptune seizes the trident to join the sundered oceans, and into whose hands eager friends would presently thrust the thunderbolts of Jove. To be sure we have had our complacency a little ruffled by this earnest man from Colorado, who has said some true things that were hard hearing; but our self satisfaction is still intact; our national loyalty is so robust that things of this sort give us little pause. We dine, we sing songs, we look at the national colors, we talk of the deeds of our great men, we exclaim with satisfaction, "The country is saved," and we share in the magnificent responsibility which is involved in that glorious sentiment.

And yet, gentlemen, beneath all these fine phrases there is a lack of faith in our fundamental institutions. There are plenty of strong men in this country,—there are men in this very room—who consciously or unconsciously are cynical about the principles and practice of democracy. For example there is the jury lawyer; note his attitude toward the jury, as he flatteringly addresses those twelve tried and true men; then recall his jocular and cynical remarks in private about the verdict, the impossibility of predicting what a jury will do, and the like. Listen to the inspiring spellbinder on the stump as he addresses those sovereign citizens who represent the very quintessence of collective intelligence; then hear him chuckling among cronies in the smoking room over the trick he has played on the same gullible people. Hear the business man, the captain of industry, devoutly thank God when the legislature adjourns; he wishes Congress met only

once in ten years. We respond enthusiastically to those beautiful speeches about the "little red school house,"—and send our children to private schools. We read literature of an esoteric sort, and scorn books which appeal to hundreds of thousands; we take satisfaction in the fact that the vast majority of the vulgar herd are excluded from the social circles which we grace. These are some facts of life; these facts, not the traditional phrases which we repeat so glibly, are the things which betray actual feelings, and unconsciously reveal underlying beliefs. So I venture to assert that in these days of prosperity, of national satisfaction, many strong, capable, and efficient men in this country are in serious danger of becoming cynical and even contemptuous about democracy.

And why do they grow cynical? Because they have been taught phrases from childhood which are no more than empty formulae. They have been told for example that the average American citizen represents a high order of intelligence; that he reflects upon the issues of the hour, and that you may trust to his decisions. But contemplate for a moment this average person as he is presented to us by the scornful aristocrat. Look at the average man. How pathetic a figure he is! How untrained are his intellectual processes! Look at that feeble specimen, the average American! The sanguine absorber of patent medicines, the mobile dupe of the political spellbinder, the unruffled reader of a single newspaper, the victim of impulse and suggestion, the complacent consumer of installment-house art. This is the average American who is held up to ridicule by the supercilious aristocrat. If you multiply him by millions, if you aggregate his incompetence do you fondly imagine that the result will be profound collective wisdom as to grave national problems and policies? Why not frankly go back to the aristocratic view? This is no new story. It is as old as Plato and Aristotle, and older. Why should we, intelligent, accomplishing, efficient people, who know how to bring things to pass, who know how to control these feeble and suggestible creatures all about us—why should we reiterate the fine phrases of democracy except for the purpose of cleverly cozening our fellows?

But your democrat objects to all this—I do not refer to Mr. Jones; I use the term in a general, not partisan, sense; Mr. Jones is essentially aristocratic. The democrat insists that after all we have misinterpreted this average man. He grows really eloquent over him. He bids us look again at this average man. To be sure, so far as mental traits go, much of the aristocratic charge is true. If you examine your own convictions you will have to admit that you are not very remote from the average man yourself. How did you get your political beliefs? They are chiefly the results of education and social heredity. You are the victim of suggestion. If you were asked to give a logical, coherent account of your political beliefs, with first-hand, reasoned theories for them, you would stand naked and ashamed. You know that in spite of all your efficiency, in spite of your splendid capacity, you closely approach this average man. It behooves you, therefore, says the democrat, to look again at this average man. You fail to interpret him; you fail to get his significance. You must remember that many of the feelings and prejudices which are carried in him, were once the thoughts of able men. You must remember all the great fixed traditions of our national life are carried not in the sophisticated and clever minds of the few, but in the feelings of the mass of the people. Thought solidified and consolidated into feeling is thus transmitted century after century. The average man, interpreted in this way, however undisciplined and untrustworthy his individual reasoning powers, represents some of the results of the best thought of men through all the ages which is laid down in his prejudices and is carried on through his life, unconscious though he may be of the source of these things. The democrat declares that in this feeling we have one of the great treasures of national life. The average man may be counted upon to feel in the right way if you represent to him fairly and squarely, without sophistication, without complication, the fundamental issues of right and wrong. In the feeling, not in the thinking of average Americans you have the safety of the republic.

And there you have the contrast,—the aristocrat believing in the intelligence, relying upon capacity for thought, insisting upon the power of the mind to control and organize and bring

things to pass; the democrat, on the other hand, putting his faith in the sound, sane and enduring feeling which has been transmitted through the centuries, which makes national character, and which is the ultimate safeguard of all groups of human beings organized in social or national life.

How did this contrast come about? Because the aristocrats and the democrats look at things from two different points of view. Your aristocrat has become scornful of the phrases which have been handed down to us. Why? Because these formulae came down from a time when men were discussing the fundamental principles of a state, and these hypnotic phrases were based upon the theory that the state arose from a reflective contract made by reasoning individuals. Go back to Hobbes, who had this problem: How should he gain support for absolute monarchy or despotism and deny the divine right of kings? Hobbes resorted to that old dream as to the origin of society. Men were conceived of as coming out of a "state of nature" in some primeval time. Every man brought with him his "natural rights." We have to assume something. Possibly you never knew where you got your "natural rights;" your ancestors brought them out of the woods. So these people came out of the woods into the clearing. They divided their "rights" up into two parts, putting part of the rights in a pool they called sovereignty. Thus the state was organized. They kept out some of the rights which they called "inalienable." You sometimes wonder where you got your "inalienable" rights—especially the cherished and invaluable "right to work." That's where you got them. Your ancestors didn't put them into the pool. It is perfectly simple.

Now as the result of that, Rousseau, who was essentially a popularizer,—Rousseau, who, if he had lived in this age would be writing for ten cent magazines—insisted that society was made up of reflective individuals, each person all the while looking out for his own interests. This highly intellectual being formed a political state of which each member was a stockholder of the corporation into which he entered. (This was, you see, a long time ago when the idea still prevailed that the stockholders of a corporation still had some control over its management). As a result, when we went into business as a nation we had to

pick up some philosophy of life ; had to pick up some phraseology, and we picked up this intensely individual and rationalistic theory of social and political relationship. Thus out of this "every-man-a-thinker" idea we have that beautiful picture of the "spellbinder" who gives us his glowing description of the sovereign American voter approaching the ballot box. Having made a careful, first-hand examination of all the data involved, and having reached a sane, sound and independent judgment in regard to the issues of the day, this American walks proudly to the ballot box and deposits that sacred ballot, which he regards as his own individual, unbiased opinion based upon this careful intellectual analysis of public questions. What a beautiful picture! But we grow cynical about it because we know no American ever votes that way, except an occasional mugwump who admits this highly intellectual attitude toward public affairs. That eminent political philosopher, Dr. Martin Dooley, of the Archie Road, once summed up this whole matter with absolute clearness. He says: "Hinnessey, I read the pa-pers, and I weigh the argymints, the pro argymints and the con argymints, and I calmly make up me moind and—vote the dimmycratic ticket."

We grow cynical, therefore, because we know that society was organized in no such way ; we grow cynical because we know that the average individual is the victim of prejudice, the victim of convention, the victim of suggestion ; that intellectually he can be controlled ; that intellectually he can be juggled with ; that intellectually he can be managed in all manner of subtle ways. And we, strong, efficient, self-satisfied, accomplishing people, take satisfaction in the joy we feel as we cozen and coerce our unstable fellow citizens.

But in our sense of superiority, in our intellectual interpretation of social life, we make a fatal blunder. Society is not held together or largely controlled by reason. Quite the contrary is true. The fundamental social bond is feeling, which is also the source of stability in individual character. When you send your boy to college do you feel confidence about his career because he is able by all sorts of subtle, intellectual jugglery to argue about every conceivable subject and every ethical problem that may be presented to him? No. If you have a boy of that sort, keep him

safely under your control. You trust the boy in whom habit has been laid down. You trust the boy whose feelings are sound. You trust the boy whose character is fixed in feeling, so that you know that in an emergency he won't subtly argue about a matter, but will instantly and without reflection respond in a sane, safe and sound way. Sentiment is a safeguard in personal character, just as it is the source of stability in national life. Until men make love by logic, until they cherish their children from calculation, until policy spells patriotism, sentiment will bind men together and inspire them to nobler effort.

Therefore our democrats say, let us believe in sentiment; let us believe in the great mass of the people, not because they are intellectually clever, not because they are independent thinkers, not because at a given time under certain conditions they cannot be confused, scattered and led off in this direction and that; but because in the long run the safest and sanest safeguards of national character are to be found not in the trained thinking, subtle jugglery and mental agility of the few, but in the sound, wholesome feeling laid down in the characters of the great mass of the nation. Therefore those of us who may be cynical in regard to the intellectual future of our national life may take heart again, if we rest our faith on the sound feeling of democracy.

What has this devoted man from Colorado pleaded for? He has plead that we may have integrity in the lives of the young as they grow up; that this sound and sane feeling which means the safety and the perpetuation of national ideals may become automatic and unquestioned. His plea for childhood and citizenship is a plea to have this strong and splendid tradition of feeling pass on through their young lives and be perpetuated in those who come after them. And he puts his finger upon one of the subtle dangers to our national life—that we neglect this feeling. If you and I as individuals follow it every time we have an opportunity and stand for sound, sane feeling, stand for these eternal prejudices—if we call them such—prejudices in favor of justice, prejudices in favor of fair play, prejudices in favor of playing the game like sportsmen, prejudices that are altogether precious in our national life, we shall be doing our duty as good citizens

in increasing and deepening this fund of protective feeling. We can dispense with a lot of people who are intellectually clever, we are retiring a large number of them in various ways to more or less remote recesses of private life—but we can never dispense with this great and growing body of feeling, which is the safeguard of the American people, the protection of our national character.

But aristocrats and democrats may come together upon a common platform. What is that common platform? Specialized and trained and efficient leadership, responsive to the sound feeling of the great mass of the people. We sometimes even curl our lips at the phrases which have been handed down to us from Lincoln's great speech. We hear the demagogues speak so glibly of "government of the people, for the people and by the people" that we almost unconsciously deride the sentiment. But what is implied in that sentence? What is involved in that ideal of Lincoln? There is involved in it the underlying conception of democracy. The clauses may be re-phrased and yet convey the same meaning that Lincoln meant to read into them. Control and administration by a capable few who are responsive to the people. In that sense they are "of the people" in that they feel the same sound sentiment that unifies the whole nation. Why do we honor the man who is our chief guest tonight? Because of his intellectual capacity? Yes. Because of his administrative ability? Yes. Because he brings things to pass? Yes. But, more than all that, because with these things he responds sanely and truly to the great fundamental traditions of American life, and the most splendid and enduring things in American character.

Administration then by a capable few who are "of the people;" a capable few chosen, selected and trusted "by the people;" a capable few who regard themselves as holding this power as trustees "for the people." Let us on that platform, gentlemen, renounce our cynicism. Let us pledge ourselves anew to a reinterpreted faith in democracy.

I might in conclusion paint a glowing picture of the dawning millennium. I see no such millennium. A fanatic, if he can get a vision and be carried away by emotional ardor, may be pushed

on to all sorts of ecstatic conduct, but it takes courageous men, it takes wise men, men of good heart, to face the facts of life as they are, to recognize that there are principles of social life which must stand to the end of the chapter, and then to resolve, with those principles fixed steadily in mind, with unwavering loyalty to go forward manfully, doing today's duty with faith that better things will come.

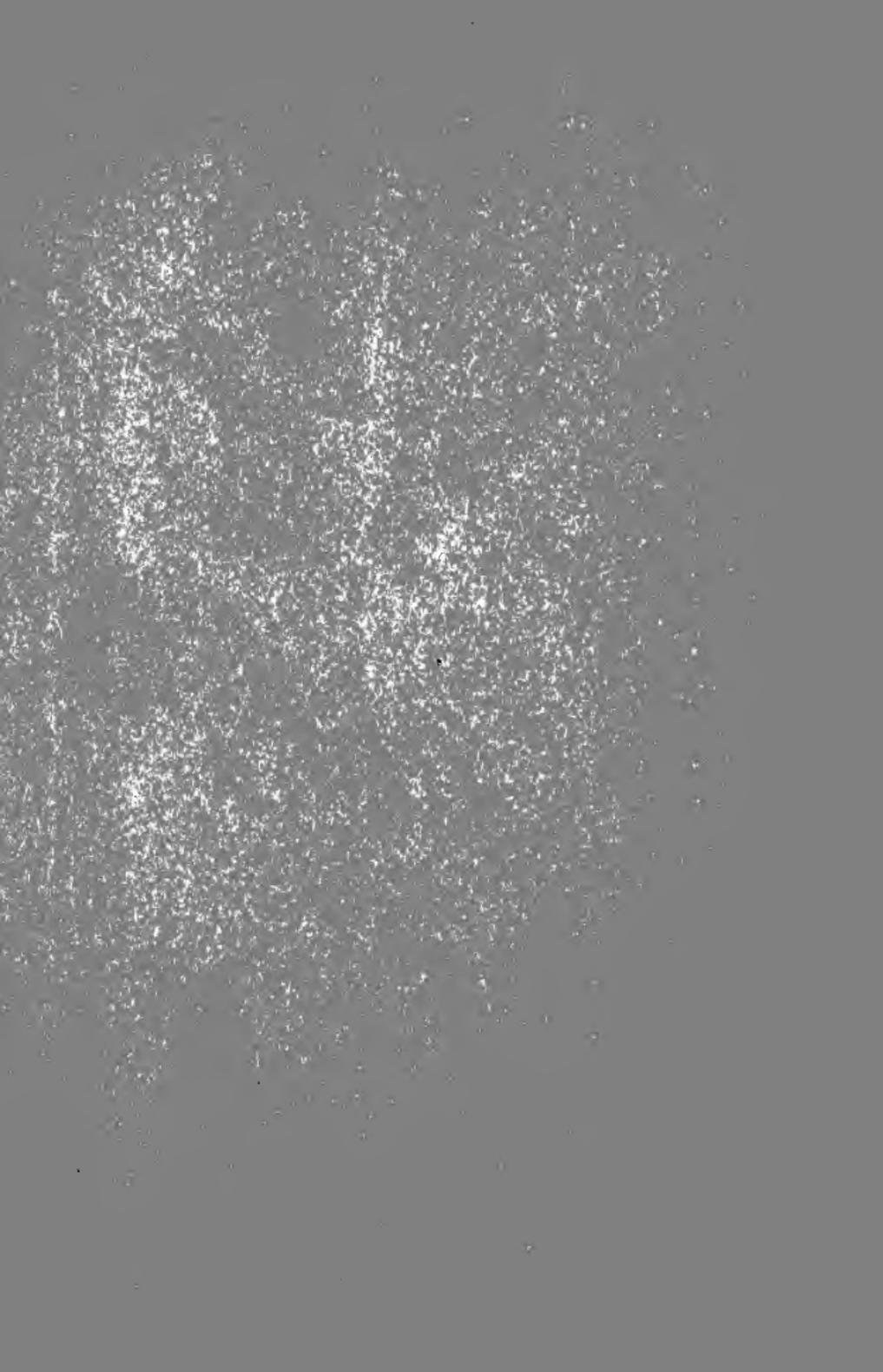
Let us be proud of our country, but let us avoid the blatant optimism of the demagogue on the one hand, and the hopeless pessimism of the man who sees only the evil, on the other. Let us be sane, and courageous, and go forward standing for these enduring commonplaces, these fundamental things, education, tolerance, justice and fair play and freedom of opinion and freedom of the press—no matter what it may say about you and me—freedom of the press which, in the long run, with all its evils, must be preferred to any censorship we might have. For what man or group of men is wise enough to censor the publicity of a great country? Let us have confidence in the reason of the competent few acting upon and responsive to the sound feeling of the many. Let us stand for underlying principles with enduring faith, if not with fanatic zeal, and let us banish a cynicism as fatal to individual character as it is to national life.

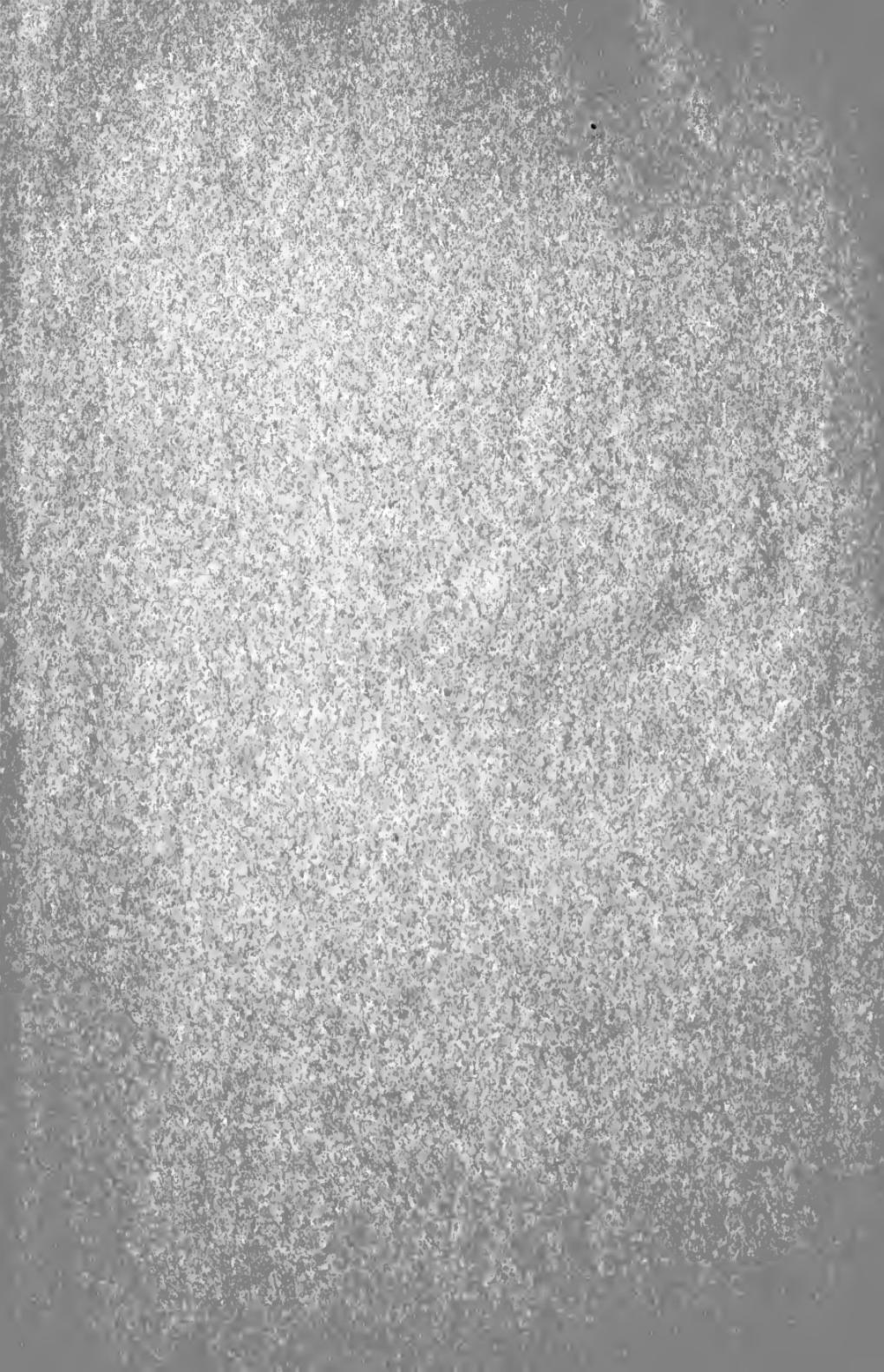












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